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FREEMASONRY
IN THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION

BY
SIDNEY MORSE



WASHINGTON, D. C.
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THE MASONIC SERVICE ASSOCIATION
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To my son

ROGERS WATROUS MORSE

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PREFACE

THE bulk of this little volume is taken from two lectures, "Civilian Patriots" and "Military Patriots of the American Revolution," prepared to be given accompanied by lantern slides. A good deal of new matter—notably the first three chapters—has been added. Every effort has been made, that available time and space would permit, to round out the original lectures into a continuous and attractive story. No one can be more conscious than the writer of the difficulties of such an undertaking nor of the fact that they have not been entirely overcome.

No pains have been spared to insure substantial accuracy of statement, and the writer is indebted to many authorities, the list of whom is much too long to be enumerated.

It is hoped that opportunity may be afforded at some future time to rewrite and expand the present sketch into a volume more worthy of this, the noblest, chapter in the glorious annals alike of the Masonic Institution and of human freedom.

SIDNEY MORSE
New York, September 11, 1924

FOREWORD

THE four old lodges that met in the Goose and Gridiron Tavern in London, in 1717, to organize the premier Grand Lodge of England, "thought fit to cement under a Grand Master as a center of union and harmony." From this small beginning, what mighty consequences have sprung! In like manner, during the trying days of the American Revolution, a little group of Freemasons "cemented," under the leadership of Washington, "a center of union and harmony" in the Continental Army and became the chief source of that national unity which we now enjoy.

The idea of a Union of the American Colonies was first suggested by our first Provincial Grand Master, R. W. Daniel Coxe, as a means of common defense against the Indians. It was again brought forward by R. W. Benjamin Franklin, at the Albany Conference in 1750, when the danger of a French and Indian war seemed imminent. That menace having been averted by the conquest of Canada, the plan of Brothers Coxe and Franklin for a Colonial Union might never have been revived had the Mother Country adopted a policy of wise conciliation.

It was the common danger to the liberties of the Colonists from the tyranny and oppression of the British Ministry, which brought about the Continental Congress. And the presence of British armies led to the formation of a Continental Army, kept the Con-

gress in being, and gave it such authority as it possessed.

In both the Congress and the Continental Armies, leading patriots from all the Colonies met, labored, and sacrificed for a common cause. Both promoted to some extent popular sentiment for national unity. The Congress, however, was much less influential in this respect than the Army. Each Colony was a sovereign commonwealth and its representatives in Congress felt obliged to advocate its particular economic and other interests. Hence in the Congress, elements of disunion constantly asserted themselves and hindered the growth of nationalistic feeling. The Congress, moreover, had little real power. Most of the leading patriots preferred to serve in the state assemblies or in the army.

The army exerted a far more powerful influence. In the Continental line, troops from all the Colonies fought together for a common end. They marched hundreds of miles shoulder to shoulder from one Colony to another. They spent long months together on garrison duty and in winter quarters. In their battles upon the soil of Colonies other than their own, they cemented with their blood their devotion to the common weal. They learned, moreover, under Washington, as Commander-in-Chief, the great advantage of unity of control. As brothers-in-arms, they freely intermingled, exchanged views and reconciled conflicting opinions. As Freemasons, they learned to know, to trust and to love one another.

Washington, according to La Fayette, it is said, never willingly gave independent command to officers who were not Freemasons. Nearly all the members of his official family, as well as most other officers who shared his inmost confidence, were his brethren of the Mystic Tie. Washington and his Masonic generals encouraged the organization of military lodges. They attended, whenever possible, the meetings of the regular lodges in their neighborhood. They frequently shared with their brethren the labors and festivals of the Craft. Unquestionably, the common teachings and principles of Freemasonry fostered the spirit of harmony and brotherly love among them, and enabled them to meet and work together with mutual confidence and to a common end.

The campaigns and battles of the Revolution have therefore a special interest for Freemasons. Not only were the chief actors (with but few exceptions) members of the Masonic Fraternity. From Roxbury to New York, in the perilous retreat through the Jerseys and the brilliant campaign of Trenton and Princeton, at Morristown and Valley Forge, during the siege of Yorktown and the last trying years of inaction in the Hudson Valley, the instructed eye can trace a constant strengthening of mutual confidence and intimacy between Washington and his Masonic generals. One can observe, moreover, a gradual development, within this inner circle, of that demand for national unity which later led to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

The influence of Freemasonry in the Revolution was by no means limited to Washington and his immediate associates. Many civil officials and leaders of the Colonial militia, as well as officers of the Continental Army, were Freemasons, and lodges everywhere were sources of patriotic sentiment and enlistments. Peter Ross, Grand Historian of the Grand Lodge of New York, estimates the number of Freemasons in that province before the Revolution as about 500, and gives names of more than half that number who were Revolutionary soldiers. Since the rosters of many early lodges have disappeared, it is evident that this list is by no means complete. Every member of one Pennsylvania lodge saw active service. An overwhelming majority of the Colonial Freemasons undoubtedly followed and supported their leaders upon the tented field.

The task of Washington and his brothers-in-arms was to preserve the Union against the attempts of the British to disrupt it. The British military strategy had two principal objects: first, to weaken the Colonists by organizing the loyalists and the Indians against them; second, to break up the Union by dividing the Colonies in order to subdue them separately. This strategy was greatly aided by the location of the Colonies along the Atlantic in a narrow belt between the wilderness and the sea. Great Britain controlled the sea, and could occupy at will the principal harbors and valleys of navigable rivers. The British thus occupied in turn the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Savannah, Charleston and others. Thence they sent expeditions

inland to cut off one group of colonies from another. These joint military and naval campaigns, together with the raids of loyalists and hostile Indians, who hung like threatening storm clouds upon the Western frontier, furnish the chief episodes of the Revolution.

The presence of the British armies compelled the Colonists to set aside their internal differences, with one notable exception that, namely, between the patriots and the British loyalists. The war forced Whig and Tory to align themselves against each other, and widened the breach between them beyond healing. This breach extended throughout the Colonies and into every relationship of life, cleaving asunder communities, families, and even Masonic lodges. To the struggle with the Mother Country, it added the bitterness of civil strife. In the end, however, this schism proved a blessing in disguise. For the British, when they retired to Canada and to Great Britain, took the loyalists with them, thus leaving the Colonists once more united.

The Fathers, in the first line of the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, set forth the root idea of the American nation: "We, the people . . . in order to form a more perfect union . . ." Not only a union of states but a unity of the whole people is the basis upon which all American institutions rest. And all Freemasons should know that the idea of union originated in Colonial Freemasonry, was developed and advocated by Freemasons, and was realized under their leadership. Indeed, Freemasonry was the only institution in Colonial times in which the leaders of

all the different Colonies could meet upon common ground.

The Revolution was fought to bring about the union of the Colonies. And the Father of his Country in his famous Farewell Address appealed in the tenderest and most solemn tones against anything that might impair our national unity. As we survey the Revolutionary period in this light, we can readily perceive the influences for and against unity of thought and action. The sources from which were derived the spirit of national unity in the thirteen original Colonies lay deep in their common heritage of race, of language and literature, of religion and of law. The elements of disunion lay nearer the surface in the institutional forms in and through which the common racial heritage found expression.

The great bulk of the Colonists were of Anglo-Saxon blood. The language and standards of culture were everywhere English. The English Bible lay open upon nearly every altar. And the basis of Government was the principles of British constitutional and common law. Yet, while the colonists were mainly of one blood, there were among them considerable groups of foreign stock not yet fully assimilated. The faith of nearly all was grounded in the English Bible. But the Puritans of New England, with their Congregational form of church government, looked askance upon the Established Church of the southern Colonies and regarded its prelates with but little less abhorrence than they felt for the Papacy. The general principles of

British constitutional and common law were shared by all. But the institutions of local government differed widely in both form and spirit. The town meeting system of New England and the parish and vestry system of the southern Colonies were as far apart as the poles.

Only the Masonic lodge was the same institution in every part of the Colonies. In the lodges, the leaders of all the Colonies were taught the same principles and practiced the same polity. In their lodge communications and other fraternal gatherings, Freemasons established a common meeting ground where men of every race, and of the most diverse religious and political views, whether rich or poor, could come together in the spirit of harmony and mutual goodwill. Members of all the lodges were trained in the exercise of self-government under constitutional restraints. Indeed, a review of all the evidence will suggest to the thoughtful mind that the Masonic lodge, derived from the ancient Anglo-Saxon gild, may share the claim to have been the "primordial cell" of the American state with the New England Town Meeting derived from the Anglo-Saxon folkmote.

The Anglo-Saxons were themselves immigrants when they came to these shores and their stock has been enriched by strains of blood from many other races. Every immigrant race has since made its peculiar contribution to the great cultural complex that we call America. One racial stock has given us its genius for religion; others the love of art and music, the joy of

life and the sense of beauty. America needs and welcomes all. But the Anglo-Saxon alone, of all modern races, has evinced the true instinct of and capacity for self-government. The political institutions of our fathers are still the best the world has ever seen and it is our plain duty as their descendants, not only to ourselves and our children, but also to those who have sought or shall seek freedom on these shores, to safeguard the institutions that underlie our civil and religious liberties.

American Freemasonry is still the only common meeting ground for men of every faith, and race, and shade of political and economic opinion. The Masonic lodge is still the same institution in every part of the United States. The leaders of Freemasonry are still being trained in the practice of self-government under constitutional restraints which derive their sanction from immemorial usage. In Freemasonry is being maintained an ideal republic of citizens, worthy and well-qualified, wherein true spiritual unity is attained.

The Masonic institution, in short, is the greatest stabilizing influence in American life, and all Freemasons should study their priceless heritage from the Fathers in order that their influence may be consistently exerted in accordance with the highest Masonic ideals.

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FREEMASONRY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

COLONIAL FOLKWAYS.

THE people who came from Europe to settle in the New World brought with them the folkways of the homelands from which they sprang. To create in the wilderness a new England, to build a new Amsterdam, or a new York, were natural aspirations of men exiled from home and still bound by a thousand ties of interest and affection to the places of their birth.

The pioneer taught himself how to erect a rough cabin of logs felled from the forest, to hew puncheons for floor and ceiling, and to make stools, tables and bunks without other tools than axe and adze. But the log house was shortly replaced by a frame dwelling or mansion of stone or brick upon a European model. All sorts of household stuffs and plenishings were brought over from abroad and, ere long, there had sprung up in America a school of design in domestic architecture and furniture, to which we are now turning as classic models. The whole Atlantic seaboard has been ransacked in recent years for Colonial furniture, and such pieces are far more highly cherished than the product of modern shops and factories. Not

a few Colonial houses remain in service and are easily distinguishable by their superiority of design from the modern dwellings amongst which they stand.

A visit to the Van Cortlandt House, or the Jumel Mansion, at New York, to the Carlisle House, at Alexandria, or to Mt. Vernon, in Virginia, where the domestic environment of our ancestors may still be seen, shows how easily we of to-day could step into the Colonial picture and with how little effort we could fall back upon our forefathers' point of view. A number of Colonial Temples and many pieces of early lodge furniture have also been preserved, and the modern Mason would find nothing incongruous in a well-appointed lodge room of the early eighteenth century.

Many of our historic landmarks, notably those in and about Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, are now dwarfed or entirely overgrown by the marts of modern trade. In a few favored spots, however, such as Williamsburg, Virginia, one may realize in full force the historic sense. The old State House has gone in a pyre of flame worthy the events, landmarks of human freedom, that took place within its walls. The famous Raleigh Tavern is supplanted by a modern edifice. But the ancient Colonial Court House is still occupied. The Powder Horn, the ringing of which by Lord Dunsmore brought Patrick Henry's militia into the field, and old Bruton Church, are unchanged. The Blair Mansion and the president's house of the College of William and Mary, headquarters of Washington and

La Fayette during the siege of Yorktown, continue to serve the needs of succeeding generations.

The town as a whole has altered but little since Colonial days. One may easily fancy that tall, raw-boned countryman, Mr. Henry, trudging up dusty Duke of Gloucester street on his return to Louisa County, leading his horse and carrying his saddlebags over his arm. An insignificant figure, surely. Yet he has just put through the House of Burgesses, with a torrent of eloquence that carried all before it, those famous resolves that are destined to spread the flame of rebellion throughout the Colonies. Nor is it difficult to conjure up before the eye of the mind that historic scene, eight years later, when General Washington and his staff stepped down from the portico of the Blair Mansion to join Generals Rochambeau and La Fayette in Bruton Church at a service of thanksgiving for the victory at Yorktown.

The old frame dwelling, where met in an upper room St. John's Lodge of Williamsburg, in which Washington's host, M. W. John Blair, himself, during the flood tide of the Revolution, was elected Grand Master of Masons in the State of Virginia, has vanished. But to all appearance, it might be any of a number of white-washed modern structures covered with the rough clapboards that negroes have split by hand in the neighboring pine woods from time immemorial.

For the log cabin, the stockaded fort, the birchbark canoe, the moccasin, the tomahawk, the roasting ear of green corn, the succulent succotash, and the girdling

and firing of trees for clearings in the forest, the settlers were indebted to the New World. But, after all, the changes in their mode of living were slight and superficial ones. The Englishman in America remained an Englishman. The Dutch in New Amsterdam were still Dutch. The Puritan continued a Puritan. The younger sons of cavaliers who settled in Virginia presently reproduced, as men to the manor born, the spacious and hospitable mode of life of the country squires of old England.

The influence of the folkways of our Colonial forebears flowing westward upon the tide of emigration still persists and colors insensibly the daily life of vast regions. The spirit of the Puritan inspires both the old and new Northwest. That of the cavaliers animates Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Southwestern country. In spite of many branches grafted with scions of other stocks, the tree of our national life is still one with the racial root from which it sprang. We, who are descendants of the pioneers, need only place ourselves in imagination in the circumstances of our ancestors and look into our own hearts to interpret aright the events so dimly outlined upon the pages of our Colonial history.

Apart from their home life and the means of procuring a livelihood, the folk of the Old World brought to the New the social and civil institutions of their homelands. Certain of these were deemed so much a part of daily life that they were presently set up in nearly every county, town, and village. And chief among

them were the church, the school, the town hall, and the court house. Such edifices were presently erected throughout the Colonies and a multitude of volumes has been written as to their influence, as means of social control, upon the people and their history.

Men are naturally gregarious. The truest insight into the character of any community may be had by observing its customary groupments. When and where do men assemble? In what manner? Under whose leadership? For what purpose? Under the inspiration of what ideals? For more than a century after the settlement of Jamestown and Plymouth the social gatherings of the Colonists were confined chiefly to church and town meetings, court and market days, the muster of militia companies upon the village green, and an occasional house-raising, husking-bee or other form of village merriment. In the old South, there were also dancing, horse-racing, and fox-hunting, although these and similar amusements were mostly taboo in Puritan New England and, to a somewhat less extent, in Quaker Pennsylvania.

About the close of the third decade of the eighteenth century, however, appeared in Colonial life a new institution. Small groups of men began to assemble at frequent and regular intervals in different parts of the Colonies under new leaders, practising novel forms and ceremonies, and aspiring toward a freshly formulated ideal. At first these meetings took place in private houses, in rented rooms, or in taverns. But shortly a new type of building began to be erected. And pre-

sently the Masonic Temple took the place it has since never ceased to occupy beside church, home, law-court, and school, as a factor in the social life of the American people.

Just here a most curious inquiry presents itself. Why have the Masonic lodge and the brotherhood and fellowship of Freemasons been so generally overlooked and ignored by historians, biographers, and other writers upon Colonial men and affairs, in spite of the conspicuous place that Masons filled and the abundance of information concerning them that is available?

The terms Puritan, lawyer, Quaker, mechanic, Presbyterian, Scotch-Irishman, and many more, are familiar designations of Colonial figures, doubtless because it is assumed that men are influenced and their conduct in some measure determined by their habitual ideas and associations. Among these however the term Freemason occurs but rarely. The great central figure of Colonial and Revolutionary days, the savior and father of his country, is variously described as a planter, an Episcopalian, an aristocrat, a slave owner, and the like. His home life, his sports and amusements, his library, his education, his travels, are discussed by many writers and in great detail. But nowhere in any history or biography not specifically Masonic, is mentioned the fact that he was a Freemason! Nor is the question raised whether the ideals or associations of Freemasonry in anywise influenced his career!

With respect to every other Colonial institution, it appears to be presumed that a group of men assembled

for some common end are measurably like-minded; that membership in an organization implies a type; that the terms Puritan and Episcopalian, for example, stand for opposed ideas; that frequent, regular, and continuous association in one relationship of life implies the formation of other ties; that any steadfast profession of particular ideas and ideals connotes belief in them; and that such faith tends to find expression in appropriate conduct. If such a mode of reasoning applies to other groupments, say the church, why in sound logic should it not also apply to the Masonic institution?

It may be that writers not Freemasons, have been held back from such discussion by a misapprehension of the element of secrecy in the Craft. The boastful and exaggerated claims of which some Masonic writers have been guilty, or the equally prejudiced or misleading statement of anti-Masons, may have deterred others. Or perhaps the emphasis common to most Masonic writings upon the mere formalism of the Craft, its sources and modes of exercising authority for making Masons, has suggested that the subject of Freemasonry can be of no great interest to any other than Freemasons and possibly to not many of them.

Whatever the reason, the fact remains. One may turn in vain to the indexes of a complete library of standard works upon American history for any except the most casual reference to an institution that drew together in the bonds of unity and brotherly love the leading citizens of scores of Colonial towns and vil-

lages; inculcated the doctrine of brotherhood, the most idealistic and revolutionary of all human principles; exemplified a form of democratic self-government; taught parliamentary procedure; established mutual confidence; and thus afforded a training school in which were developed a majority of the leaders of the patriot cause.

At any rate, the theme of this little volume is the influence of Freemasonry, not merely in the lodge room or in the private life of the individual members but, through them, upon the origin and conduct of the American Revolution, and thus upon the history of mankind.

CHAPTER II

SOURCES OF COLONIAL FREEMASONRY

THE Masonic lodge was by no means a new institution at the time of its introduction into Colonial life. This is not the place to consider the question of its origin. Suffice it to say that its descent can be clearly traced to those lodges of Operative Masons whose monuments are the medieval abbeys and cathedrals of old England. Its earliest written record precedes by a full century the faring forth of Columbus, and his three caravels in quest of a New World. When the Protestant Reformation put an end for the time to cathedral building in England, the lodges of Operative Masons declined in numbers and in fame, until, at the completion of St. Paul's, there were but a half dozen remaining in London and vicinity, besides isolated lodges scattered elsewhere in the British Isles.

The Operative lodge, in the heyday of its power, was a very vital institution with many intimate relationships to the communities of which it formed a part. It was first of all a school of architecture, which inherited from antiquity the higher mathematics as applied to the art of building and transmitted them to modern times. It was also what we now call a vocational school, taking in apprentices and turning out, after seven years of training, skilled craftsmen and masters of the building trades. Upon the economic side, it also played the part (to some extent) of the

present day trades union in controlling the relations of employer and employe. Upon the civic side, it was in no small degree a self-governing institution. And at a time when public assembly and discussion were for the most part forbidden, the lodge appears to have enjoyed, by virtue of its secrecy, no small measure of free speech. Under the rule of the prelates for whom it wrought, it became also, through its ritual and symbolism, a school of morality and devotion.

In spite of this historic background of centuries of service and achievement, Freemasonry, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, appears to have been a fast vanishing institution, when, in 1717, the "Four Old Lodges" in London, under the influence of a group of men who had been active in the formation of the Royal Society, assembled at the Goose and Gridiron Tavern and "cemented" under the world's first Grand Master a "center of union and harmony" by organizing the premier Grand Lodge.

Before this time, however, men who had been made Masons in the Operative lodges had come to America; had, indeed, been scattered to all parts of the world. Thus Sir William Alexander who visited the New World early in the seventeenth century is recorded as present, "the 3rd of Joulay, 1634," at a meeting of the Lodge of Edinburgh, Scotland, when he was "admitet felowe off the Craft." And Jonathan Belcher, made a Mason in London in 1705, later became Provincial Governor of Massachusetts. Doubtless other "old brethren" had also migrated to the New World.

Under the first Grand Lodge began a new era of Masonic growth and prosperity. In 1721, we learn of twelve lodges in London. By 1723, the number had risen to twenty, besides nine elsewhere in England, of which the first was held in the Queen's Head Inn at the fashionable watering place of Bath. The Grand Lodge of England soon had the honor of a "noble brother at their head" and then, patronized by royalty, the Craft spread rapidly throughout Great Britain and the Continent. It appeared in France in 1725, in Spain in 1729, and shortly afterward in Holland, Germany, Russia, Portugal, Poland, Austria, and other parts of Europe. Meantime the Masons of Ireland and Scotland, following the precedent of their English brethren, set up, in 1725 and 1736 respectively, Grand Lodges of their own. Thus at the very beginning of the Grand Lodge era, Freemasonry, to quote the language of a contemporary writer, "took a run and ran itself out of breath."

If we keep in mind the close and friendly intercourse then existing between the Colonies and the Mother Country, we shall not be surprised to read in the Pennsylvania Gazette, edited by Benjamin Franklin, that in the second decade after the so-called "revival" of 1717, there were already "several Masonic lodges" in that province; or that, within ten years, lodges appeared in the provinces of Massachusetts (1733), Georgia (1734), South Carolina (1735), New Hampshire (1736), and New York (1737), and in the British islands of Montserrat, Antigua, and St. Christopher.

Another decade saw the spread of Freemasonry to Virginia (1743), and Rhode Island (1749), followed in succeeding years by Maryland and Connecticut (1750), North Carolina (1753), New Jersey (1761), and Delaware (1765), thus completing the roster of the Colonies some years before the outbreak of the Revolution.

Two generations of Masons had been made in the first lodges of Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah, before the first Masonic brethren laid down their lives for their country on the village green at Lexington and the slopes of Bunker Hill. Meantime the number of stationary lodges in the colonies had risen to some six score and the ranks of the Craft had been strengthened by a large number of visitors and sojourners.

Just here a short digression seems needful to account for the rapid introduction of Freemasonry into America and to explain certain distinctions and bickerings among Colonial Masons, now happily vanished, knowledge of which is necessary to a proper understanding of our story.

Before the formation of the first Grand Lodge, any seven duly made brethren could congregate as a lodge and make Masons. They met by authority of what was called "immemorial usage" or, in legal phrase, of custom "going back to a time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." The first lodge in Philadelphia prior to 1734, in common with the "Four Old Lodges" in England and the early lodges in Ireland

and Scotland, met by no better warrant. In 1723, however, the premier Grand Lodge resolved that, henceforward, "no new lodge, in or near London, without it be regularly constituted," should be countenanced by the Grand Lodge. This rule evidently applied only to the English lodges in London and Westminster, but the precedent thus established was soon adopted by the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland, and has since extended over the globe. Acting upon this hint, groups of Colonial Masons who wished to congregate into lodges began to make application to one or other (and sometimes to two or more) of the British Grand Lodges for warrants. To supervise the rapid extension of the Craft the several grand bodies soon appointed Provincial Grand Masters. Thus, in 1733, R. W. Henry Price was named by the premier Grand Lodge to be Grand Master of New England and, in 1769, Joseph Warren was deputed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland as "Grand Master of ("Antient") Masons in Boston and within one hundred miles of the same." The existence of English, Scotch, and Irish lodges (so named from the source of their warrant of authority) is thus accounted for.

In the meantime occurred in England an event which had the most far reaching consequences in the history of the Colonies. The premier Grand Lodge at London was not only patronized by royalty. It numbered among its founders and members sundry noblemen, officers of the Royal forces, scientists, men of letters, and other gentlemen of parts and substance. In 1723,

for example, Francis, Duke of Lorraine, the first royal Freemason, (who later married Maria Theresa and became Emperor of Austria) was entered Apprentice and passed Fellowcraft at the Hague. Later in the year he was raised a Master Mason at Houghton Hall, the seat of Sir Robert Walpole, then prime minister. Lodge meetings assumed the form of exclusive social gatherings. Grand officers were chosen for a time from a limited privileged class. In short, the Craft in England developed a pronounced aristocratic, not to say, snobbish tendency.

In these circumstances, certain Irish weavers and other laborers, residing in London, who appear to have been made Masons under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, were refused admission to the London lodges. The reason assigned was that they were irregular or clandestine Masons, but their lack of means and social position no doubt counted heavily against them. These brethren presently fell back upon the right of "immemorial usage," formed themselves into lodges, and appointed a committee of Masters and Past Masters to supervise them. To prevent the visitation of these brethren in the regular lodges, the Grand Lodge, sometime prior to 1738, adopted certain changes in the ritual. We do not know exactly what these changes were; but it is assumed that the words in the first two degrees were interchanged and that the material composing the present Third Degree was separated from the First and Second, omitting the work now given in the Royal Arch Degree.

Advantage was promptly taken of these purely formal changes, which did not in fact affect in any vital manner either the teachings or practices of the Craft, by the Irish lodges (which had meantime begun to admit English brethren of the artizan or laboring class) to declare (falsely) that the premier Grand Lodge had abandoned the ancient landmarks for modern methods of their own devising, whereas they, themselves, were still treading in the "good old way."

Thereupon the Irish lodges, under the leadership of a brilliant, though somewhat unscrupulous brother, Lawrence Dermott by name, declared themselves to be "Antient York Masons" and, by way of disparagement, dubbed the original Grand Lodge (to which they were in fact indebted for all that was essential in their own observances) by the opprobrious name of "Moderns". The two terms unfortunately caught the popular fancy and must still be used, in spite of the fact that they are the reverse of true, and that the breach was healed in England by the union, in 1813, of the rival English Grand Lodges and, in America, by the formation in each state and territory of an independent Grand Lodge.

The rivalry between the so-called "Antient" and "Modem" Grand Lodges, and the vigorous leadership of Brother Dermott as Grand Secretary of the former, once more stimulated interest in the formation of new lodges (which had somewhat lagged after the Craft under the inspiration of the "revival" of 1717 "had run itself out of breath,") and competition between

them became intensely keen and bitter. Brother Dermott, in 1758, secured in behalf of the Irish lodges "a strict union" with the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Later, he succeeded in persuading the third and fourth Dukes of Atholl to accept successively the Grand Mastership, whence the "Antients" are also commonly (and more properly) known as "Atholl" Masons. The third Duke of Atholl, in 1773, was also elected Grand Master of Scotland, thus bringing about an *entente cordiale* between the "Antients" and the Scotch Grand Lodge. The vitality and popularity of the "Antients" were further enhanced by the democracy of their appeal to all classes, by the liberality, not to say looseness, of their policy with respect to the issuance of new warrants and, above all, by the freedom with which they issued "military" or traveling warrants.

From this digression we may now take up the thread of our story and observe that, in addition to more than one hundred stationary lodges warranted by both the English Grand Lodges, "Antient" and "Modern," as well as by the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland and by provincial Grand Lodges under their authority, there were working at various times and places in the Colonies prior to the Revolution upward of fifty military lodges. Twenty-three of these were Irish, nine Scotch, five "Antient", and three "Modern", the remainder having been instituted by the Provincial Grand Lodges of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York.

The influence of these migratory lodges may be

traced at least as far back as the ill-fated Braddock expedition, since we read in the minutes of a Pennsylvania lodge of a British sergeant in Braddock's army who had been raised to the degree of Fellowcraft at that time. A cave is still pointed out near Charles-town, West Virginia, which, according to local tradition, was then used as the meeting place of a military lodge. And Brother George Washington is said to have been "healed" as an "Antient" Mason in the Lodge of Social and Military Virtue, No. 227, on the register of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, during his trip to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, in the winter of 1756 to visit Governor Shirley. The majority of these lodges, however, came to America with the British forces during the last French and Indian War.

During the Revolution, the number of military lodges was further swelled by about one-half, of which ten were instituted in the Continental Army under Washington, and the remainder, in the enemy ranks. Thus, prior to the close of the Revolution, some two hundred warrants issued by not less than thirteen Grand Lodges, British and Provincial, were or had been in force in America. Even private lodges, such, for example, as the mother lodge of Washington at Fredericksburg, Virginia, sometimes exercised the right to issue warrants, and lodges so organized were afterwards regarded as legitimate.

Neither the Grand Lodge of Ireland nor that of Scotland adopted the changes in the ritual authorized by the premier Grand Lodge, and both extended

fraternal recognition to the "Atholl" Grand Lodge. Neither, on the other hand, was in sympathy with the extreme attitude of the "Antients" toward the Grand Lodge of "Moderns". Hence the Scotch and Irish Lodges were, with few exceptions, deemed regular by both "Antient" and "Modern" Masons, although, since both continued to work in "the good old way", they were commonly referred to in the Masonic records of the time as "Antient" Masons.

It is apparent that the present doctrine of exclusive Masonic jurisdiction is not a landmark, since it did not obtain in Colonial days and indeed was not so much as thought of. As a rule, all the lodges by whomsoever authorized were looked upon as regular. In brief, all Colonial Masons intervisited freely, except that "Moderns" and "Antients" sometimes interdicted each other.

A distinction of far more practical importance arose from the democratic ideals of the "Antients" as opposed to the aristocratic, not to say monarchical, tendency of the premier Grand Lodge of England. The first lodges in the Colonies were "Modern," having been organized by the premier Grand Lodge before its rival had come into existence. They were commonly patronized by provincial governors and other royal officials, officers of the British armies and fleet, and leading Colonial notables. The "Antient" lodges were propagated largely by sea-faring men in the British merchant service and by military lodges of "Antients," with the aid and support of Scotch and Irish lodges.

The origin of a number of early Colonial lodges was not unlike that of the first Irish lodges in London. In both Philadelphia and Boston, sea-faring men and others identified with shipping interests, including artizans and mechanics employed about the docks, were refused admission to the "Modern" lodges, both because they were followers of the "good old way" and because of their inferior social position. They were thus forced to apply elsewhere for charters. In Boston, application was made to the Grand Lodge of Scotland; in Philadelphia, to the "Antient" Grand Lodge of England. And similar steps were taken in other provinces.

The members of the British military lodges usually fraternized freely with the local lodges. During the long winter evenings while stationed on garrison duty in various parts of the Colonies, they made Masons both in the Colonial militia and in the surrounding civil population. A number of the military leaders of the Revolution were "initiated 'prentices" and "passed fellow-craft" during the French and Indian Wars, and the value of military lodges then became apparent to Washington and other Colonial officers.

That Freemasonry helped to bridge the gulf between civil and military life we may learn from the fact that Mount Vernon Lodge, No. 3, at Albany, formerly known as Union Lodge, No. 1, owes its origin to Military Lodge, No. 74, on the register of Ireland in the First Regiment of British foot. The Master of this lodge, having made a number of Masons

among his social acquaintances while on garrison duty in that city during the years 1758 and 1759, left them, on his departure, a copy of his charter. Under this they worked as a lodge until they secured, in 1765, a regular charter from Provincial Grand Master Harrison.

The influence of the military lodge in assuaging the asperities of war is finely illustrated by the well-known case of Israel Putnam who often averred that he owed his life to Freemasonry. In 1758, during the French war, Putnam was captured by Indians. Near Ticonderoga, he was bound to an oak tree, the location of which is still preserved by tradition, to be burned alive. The fagots were piled about him and the torch applied. In this extremity he gave a Masonic sign. A French officer, Count de Molang, promptly scattered the fagots with his sword, severed Putnam's bonds, and released him. The following year, R. W. Jeremy Gridley, then Provincial Grand Master of Massachusetts, authorized a lodge at Crown Point which was named Molang, in honor of Putnam's rescuer.

To sum up, we have seen that Freemasonry had extended during the Colonial period from Great Britain through Europe and to all the British Colonies; that no less than thirteen Grand Lodges were issuing warrants in America; that upward of two hundred lodges were working in the Colonies; that Freemasonry was promoting friendly intercourse between the officials of the Crown and the Colonial gentry, between the British regulars and the Colonial militia, and between ship

captains and factors of the British merchant marine, and Colonial shippers and longshoremen.

Let us now consider the part played by Colonial Freemasonry in time of peace, before our story plunges into the vortex of the Revolution.

CHAPTER III

THE CUSTOMS OF COLONIAL FREEMASONRY

TO Freemasons it would perhaps suffice to say that in most respects the customs of the Colonial lodges were similar to those that still obtain, especially in rural town and village lodges. In size the lodges averaged far less than at present. Few, if any, remaining minute books are complete, but some representative figures are available. The first lodge of Philadelphia had forty-nine members in its seventh year. That of Boston made or admitted three hundred and seventeen members during the first two decades of its history. St. Andrew's (Scotch) Lodge of Boston made one hundred and fifty-four Masons in its first nineteen years. St. George's of Schenectady made one hundred and thirty-four Masons during the period from 1774 to 1790. Many persons however, who were made Masons never became members of any lodge. Peter Ross, Grand Historian, estimates the average membership of the early New York lodges, at about twenty-five, with perhaps an equal number of unaffiliates. That the problem of attendance was a pressing one is shown by the very general adoption of by-laws prescribing fines for absence. Often lodges found it difficult to get together enough members to do their work. On ordinary occasions a turn-out of a dozen brethren would appear to have been an average attendance.

The formal concerns of Masons in the lodges, then as now, were chiefly the ballot on candidates; the work of the degrees; examination of visitors; relief of distressed brethren, their widows, and orphans; discipline of offenders; plans for social and festal occasions; purchase of furnishings and supplies; and other routine matters. Unhappily the minute books of a majority of the old lodges have long since disappeared. The old records that survive, while much more noncommittal than one could wish, nevertheless present as a whole a fair picture of strictly Masonic activities.

It may be remarked in passing that our brethren of the eighteenth century evidently construed the Masonic obligation of secrecy much more literally than we do now. In 1720, "some scrupulous brothers" in London burned a number of priceless old manuscripts that they "might not fall into strange hands." Grave protest was made about the first books that were issued on Freemasonry. And much excitement was aroused by the publication in London of a number of alleged *exposés* of the Masonic ritual.

Benjamin Franklin, who devoted no small part of his life to Freemasonry and who wrote copiously upon so many subjects, has left nothing as to his Masonic doings save some old account books, a brief paragraph or two, and a letter of reassurance to his mother. And Paul Revere, who could tell such animated stories of his famous ride and other patriotic missions, although an active member of St. Andrew's

and Rising States Lodges of Boston and later Grand Master of Masons in Massachusetts, thought fit to leave no record of his connection with the famous "Tea Party" or other Masonic activities.

The newspapers of the Colonies took care that the public was not altogether without information about the Craft. The election from time to time of sundry noblemen as officials of the British Grand Lodges was duly chronicled. The stately processions of the London lodges and their common feasts upon special occasions were thought worthy of mention. Items also appeared from time to time concerning the affairs of the Craft in Continental cities, such as the Papal bulls against Freemasonry, and the Catholic persecution in several countries, including the sufferings of poor John Coustos.

The progress of Colonial Masonry was touched upon occasionally in the London papers. Thus the St. James Evening Post for August 20, 1737, contains the following item under a Boston date line: "Friday last being the Feast of St. John the Baptist, the annual meeting of the Free and Accepted Masons, they accordingly met. The Right Worshipful Mr. Robert Thomlinson, Grand Master, nominated and appointed his Grand officers for the next year ensuing, * * * After which the Society attended the Grand Master to his Excellency, Governor Belcher's, and from thence the Governor was attended by the Grand Master and the Brotherhood to the Royal Exchange Tavern in King Street, where they had an elegant entertainment.

It being the first procession in America they appeared in the proper badges of their Order, some gold and some silver. The processions was closed by the Grand Master." Surely it is not surprising that, in the language of a contemporary, "Masonry Caus'd great speculation in those Days in New England to the great Vulgar and the small."

The clearest pictures that have come down to us of the doing of our Masonic ancestors are of the festivals of the two Saints John, that of the Baptist in June and that of the Evangelist in December. These celebrations were prescribed in the charters of that day, and appear to have been as meaningful to the early lodges as is Thanksgiving to the descendants of the Pilgrim fathers. They were occasions of reunion and of devotion, as well as of public display and festal joy. Members gathered to them from far and near and a full turn-out was expected. The lodge first assembled, as a rule, at its place of meeting. Thence "properly cloathed" the brethren marched, often with a band of music at their head, to a favored church. Here a special sermon was delivered, which was often published at the expense of the lodge, and a collection was taken for charity. From church the procession proceeded to a neighboring tavern to dine together. Then the brethren returned to their meeting place where lodge was closed "in peace and harmony", usually at ten o'clock. The St. John's Day feast was often announced in advance in the local papers, as a convenient means of calling the brethren

together, and an account of the proceedings was commonly published after the event.

One of the greatest of these festivals was the feast of St. John the Evangelist, in 1757, when St. John's Grand Lodge of Boston had the honor of entertaining John, Fourth Earl of Loudoun, Past Grand Master of Masons of Scotland (1736), then commander-in-chief of all the British forces in North America, together with Charles Lawrence, Governor of Halifax. R. W. Jeremy Gridley, Grand Master, made five members of Loudoun's staff Masons "at sight" on this occasion after which, we are told, "the day was Spent in a very agreeable manner."

Other noteworthy occasions were the burial of prominent public men with Masonic honors. The funeral of R. W. Thomas Oxnard, for example, in June, 1754, is thus described (in part) by a minute of the St John's Grand Lodge of Boston: "His Corps was attended to the Grave last Friday by a Numerous Train of Relations, of Free and Accepted Masons, Friends and Acquaintances. The Free and Accepted Masons dressed in black, and Cloathed with white Aprons and Gloves walked before in a Procession of two, with the Grand Masters Jewell, usually worn by him, pendant from the Ribbon on a tassel'd black Velvet Cushion carried next to the Corps. Immediately before the Cushion walked the Deputy Grand Master with the Grand Wardens; the Past Grand Officers, the other officers of the Grand Lodge, the Masters, Wardens and Officers of the other Lodges

in Town in their order, all the Masters and Wardens with their Jewells pendant upon black Ribbon. After the Interment the Fraternity walked before the Relations, and returned with them to the Mansion House of the deceased, where they took their Leave. The whole attendance was conducted thro' a vast Number of Spectators, with great order and Decency."

The obsequies of R. W. Jeremy Gridley in September, 1767, are thus referred to: "His funeral was Attended with the Respect due to his Memory, by the Members of his Majesty's Council, and the Judges of the Superior Court in Town, the Gentlemen of the Bar, the Brethren of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, the Officers of his Regiment, the Members of the Marine Society and a great Number of the Gentlemen of the Town." His successor, R. W. John Rowe, entrusts to his diary this confidential comment: "Such a multitude of Spectators, I never Saw at any time before since I have been in New England,—after his Body was Interr'd wee Return'd in Form to the Town house (from whence his corps was taken at the Beginning of the Processions,) in the Same Order as wee first Walked.—I do not much approve of Such parade & Show—but as it was his and his Relations desire, I could not well Avoid giving my Consent. I think the Number of the Brethren that Attended was 161.—upon the Whole it was as well Conducted & in As Good Order as the Nature of it would admit."

R. W. Brother Rowe, however, appears to have

taken no serious exception to the splendor of the solemnities attending his own installation as Grand Master in the following November, shortly after the arrival in Boston of the British troops. Following the installation, which was conducted with much pomp and ceremony, the brethren marched in procession to Trinity Church, according to their minutes, "Amidst a vast congregation of people both in the streets and in the windows of the houses; after which they returned to the Concert Hall in the same manner, the music playing before them all the way", where they sat down to a most "sumptuous" dinner.

"Thus was ended this Grand Solemnity, much to the Honour of the Fraternity, as the like had never been seen in America before, what from the Richness of the Jewels, Badges, Clothing, and Ensigns of Office—the Good Order and Regularity of the Procession, the appearance of many Honorable and Respectable Brethren, and the uniformity of the Cloathing, the Spectators of all Ranks were struck with Admiration, except some few who call themselves Brethren, who had sufficient to raise their Envy, as the Procession passed through the Streets to, and from Church." The last allusion is evidently to the "Antient" Masons and serves to illustrate the controversial spirit of the times.

With upward of two hundred lodges at work, temples in the principal towns and cities, semi-annual sermons and feasts, besides occasional public processions, funerals and other ceremonials, and the usual

fortnightly communications, and with news items appearing at frequent intervals in the public press, it is evident that the Craft occupied a place of much prominence in Colonial life and was sufficiently conspicuous in the public eye. Such well known figures as James Otis, the popular lawyer, John Hancock, the wealthy merchant, and Joseph Warren, the beloved physician, at Boston; or Andrew Hamilton, the architect of the State House, Benjamin Franklin, publisher of the Gazette, and William Allen, Chief Justice of the province, at Philadelphia, appearing in a public procession, could not fail to attract attention. And often the provincial governor, the mayor, and other notables walked or rode at the head of the Masonic ranks. With these facts in mind it is hard to understand how the influence of Freemasonry in the Colonies, as a social organization, if nothing else, can be gainsaid.

One or two popular misconceptions remain to be disposed of in this connection, one of which referring to the convivial customs of our Masonic forbears is thus expressed by Joseph Green, the foremost wit of his days:

"But what I've said, I'll say again,
'Tis *Love*, pure *Love*, cements the whole,
Love—of the *Bottle* and the *Bowl*."

In Colonial days, the drinking of wine and spirits was universal. Even ministers drank to excess, not infrequently to the point where the "influence" was plainly evident at church meetings in both their speech

and conduct. New England, in spite of its Puritan traditions, consumed vast quantities of Jamaica rum, and looked upon the West India trade in that commodity, and in the molasses from which it was distilled, as an essential factor in its commerce. The social life of men in both the Old and New Worlds then centered chiefly in taverns. And the Colonial cities imitated London in organizing a surprising variety of clubs for convivial purposes. Both eating and drinking in the lodge room, and even in Grand Lodge, were customary in England until late in the eighteenth century. And the minutes of the Colonial lodges afford abundant evidence that the call from labor to refreshment was literally interpreted.

The customs of lodges in this respect differed for reasons of convenience. Some appear to have supped before their meeting. Others repaired after lodge to the long room of the tavern for refreshment. In many cases, however, it seems certain that, at the call to refreshment, tables were laid upon trestles upon the floor of the lodge, the steaming punch bowl was brought in, pipes were lighted, and conviviality was the order of the hour.

To look back upon such a scene as a drinking bout, or orgy, inconsistent with the ideals of Freemasonry, or to assume that the popularity of the Craft was based upon conviviality, would be to shoot wide of the mark. Then, as now, the subjects discussed in the lodge room were serious ones holding little attraction for mere roysterers. The lectures of Preston,

upon which the major part of our present monitorial work is based, were at the height of their fame and the expression "had the benefit of a lecture" occurs in lodge minutes with surprising frequency. Indeed, there is far more evidence that men neglected attendance at lodge because of the serious nature of the proceedings than that they came to eat to excess or drink to intemperance.

The cost of the evening's entertainment was commonly met either from the lodge dues or by dividing it, each brother present paying his share or "club". In either case, the reckoning was evidently an important item and the difficulties of the treasurer with his accounts occupy no small part in the early minutes. The season of refreshment was fixed in the by-laws, as a general rule, within prescribed hours; and the Junior Warden was charged, sometimes under penalty of a fine, to notify the Master when the hour of closing, usually ten o'clock, had arrived. All drinking up to that hour was at the common cost, glasses being "charged", or "fired", from time to time in response to a series of toasts. Thereafter, brethren desiring further refreshment were required to order from the tavern taproom at their own charges. That the duties of the Junior Warden were no sinecure we may infer from the numerous by-laws in reinforcement of his authority.

Some of the more wealthy lodges, such, for example, as old St. John's meeting at the Royal Exchange, Boston, could perhaps afford to order served

a specially cooked meal. And this custom, as has been seen, was observed by a majority of the lodges on feast days. The smaller lodges were content with light refreshments and the purchase of supplies of biscuit, cheese, gammon (ham), "lemons", limes, pickles, sugar, pipes, tobacco, and the like, as well as of Madeira, Port, Teneriff, rum, gin, and various other wines and spirits, are often noted in old minutes. The principles of the Craft, however, as well as specific by-laws forbidding intemperance and excess, appear to have been strictly enforced, and it was customary for the secretary to close his minutes with some such phrase as follows: "Clos'd with the utmost order and decorum, in a manner only known in Masonry", or "with a true Masonal (sic) decorum and order".

Another common misconception is that the landmark forbidding political, as well as sectarian, discussion in the lodges was violated in pre-Revolutionary days. There is no evidence of this and fair inference from all existing lodge minutes runs quite to the contrary. The Old Charges "digested in a new and better method", in 1723, in Anderson's Constitutions, were reproduced in 1734 by Benjamin Franklin and used quite generally in the "Modern" lodges. They were also adopted, republished and distributed by the Grand Lodges of both England and Scotland and by the "Antients" in the form of Dermott's "Ahiman Rezon". Doubtless they were at least as well known and observed by the brethren generally in Colonial

times as they are today. Indeed, it seems probable that our ancestors took their Masonry even more seriously than do we. Existing minutes, moreover, would indicate that the time of the lodge was closely occupied with its ordinary affairs. It is altogether unlikely that any topics were discussed in lodge that would not be admissible today.

Outside the hours of labor, however, the case was doubtless otherwise. The lodges were accustomed to meeting at the tavern of a brother. Not infrequently a tavern-keeper was made a Mason to insure his loyalty and fidelity to the Craft. Privacy and mutual confidence being thus assured and the sentiments of members being well known to one another, it is more than probable that, during the social hour, when pipes were lit, the punch bowl steamed upon the board and toasts were going 'round, the talk turned to questions of the hour. Leading brethren, we may suppose, found opportunity to express their views. And doubtless upon such occasions, at the "Old Raleigh", the "Green Dragon", and many another tavern, those intimate discussions took place, which are so influential in forming public opinion. That many Masonic groups and individuals were active in political agitation in the interval between the passage of the Stamp Act, and the dawn of liberty at Lexington, is well known. But this may be fully accounted for by natural causes. Then, as now, Masons were the picked men of the community. The ordinary conduct of lodge affairs afforded a school of training for leadership.

By close and intimate association within the lodge and intervisitation among lodges, the qualifications of individuals for offices of public trust became well known. In the bonds of fellowship, mutual confidence was established. That the "Sons of Liberty" and other patriotic bodies neither met as Masons nor used Masonry to cover their designs is proved by the fact that men who were not Masons were among them. That the lodges, as such, took little or no part in the Revolution, we may be assured. But that their members, as citizens, under the influence of Masonic teachings and in close fraternal co-operation, were active at every stage in the struggle for freedom is an historical fact of which we, their descendants, may be justly proud.

To portray in full the part played by Freemasons would be to relate nearly the entire tale of the Revolution. Our story must be confined to a few only of the leading personalities and events. We can present here only an outline. Let us hope that the present sketch may lead to a more adequate study in which the contribution of Freemasonry to the foundation of the Republic may be more fully and conclusively established.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

TO place a just estimate on the part played by Freemasonry in the founding of the nation, it is necessary briefly to review the causes of the Revolution. King George III of England led the fight against the Colonies in person; hence the date of his accession (1760) is usually taken as the beginning of the Revolutionary period. Three years later (1763) the final treaty, providing for the withdrawal of the French from Canada and the Mississippi Valley, which brought to a close the French and Indian War, was signed at Paris. The next ten years were marked by the efforts of the King and his Ministers to compel the Colonists to pay a part of the cost of that conflict. The opposition of the Colonies to these measures was led by Freemasons, and Masonic lodges were among the chief centers of effective resistance.

The curtain of the drama of the American Revolution was rung up in the noisy and turbulent city of Boston, then a town of some 25,000 inhabitants, and the leading port in the New World.

Six Masonic lodges were working in Boston prior to the Revolution, three "Modern", besides a lodge composed of Past Masters and others who had been raised to the Master's degree, and two Scotch lodges; and upward of one thousand Masons are believed to have been made in and about the city.

It will be recalled that Brother Jonathan Belcher, one of the early Governors of Massachusetts, was made a Mason in 1704, and returned to Boston the following year. Governor Belcher maintained a life-long interest in Masonry and his son, Andrew, became an active Mason. These facts give some color to a tradition that a "time immemorial" lodge had met at King's Chapel, in 1720, and that a number of men were made Masons there prior to the appointment of the first Provincial Grand Master.

The active development of Colonial Masonry dates from a deputation issued by the "Modern" Grand Lodge, of England, to R. W. Henry Price as Provincial Grand Master of New England. Price, because of his activity and because the first chartered lodges in America were warranted by him, has been called the "Father of American Freemasonry".

Price's deputation was received and read on July 30, 1733. The same day he organized, at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, a provincial Grand Lodge in Boston under the title of St. John's Grand Lodge and appointed as his Deputy, Andrew, son of Governor Belcher. At the opening session, he received a petition from "18 Masons in Boston and other Brethren" to form a lodge. The lodge was warranted verbally, and organized the same evening. Until the year 1783, it was known simply as the First Lodge in Boston. It has since been known as St. John's Lodge, No. 1. The famous old tavern, its first place of meeting,

stood on King Street at the head of the Long Wharf, and was noted as the "best punch house" in Boston.

The Master's Lodge was organized by Price in 1738. A deputation of the Provincial Grand Lodge for a second lodge, to meet at the Royal Exchange Tavern, was granted in February, 1749. And a third lodge, to meet at the Liberty House Tavern, was warranted in March of the same year.

The first "Antient" lodge in Boston met and organized at the Green Dragon Tavern in 1752 (the year in which Washington was made a Mason in the Old Lodge at Fredericksburg, Virginia) and, two years later, petitioned the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a charter. The warrant was granted in 1756, but owing to the difficulties of communication at that time did not come to hand until four years after.

This Tavern, also known as the Freemasons' Arms, described by the royal governor as a "nest of sedition", was called by Daniel Webster the "Headquarters of the Revolution", a name to which it has undoubtedly claim. It was a two-story brick building painted a dingy color, on a little lane off Union Street, near the shores of the Mill Pond. It was purchased by St. Andrew's Lodge before the Revolution and the site is still owned by it. The building was taken down in 1823. Here met the "North End Caucus", the "Sons of Liberty", Paul Revere's famous club and other Revolutionary bodies, and here much secret history was made. "How much 'treason'", says the historian Drake, "was hatched under this roof will never be

known. But much was unquestionably concocted within the walls of the Masonic Lodge."

In Boston, the controversy and rivalry between the "Antient" and "Modern" Grand Lodges had important consequences. The "Modern" lodges were patronized by the royal governors and the British military and civil officers and, at first, the sympathy of many of their members was with the Crown. St. Andrew's, the first "Antient" lodge, was composed chiefly of merchants and seafaring men and the artizans and mechanics employed about the docks in the North End. Its members, some of whom doubtless had a hand in the smuggling that was constantly going on, were intensely democratic and jealous of their rights, and took up with enthusiasm the cause of independence.

The "Modern" Masons of the St. John's Grand Lodge took the same attitude toward the inchoate group of "Antient" Masons as did the premier Grand Lodge toward the Irish weavers in London, dubbing them irregular (which perhaps they were) and clandestine (which was less likely) and refusing them the privilege of visitation. Even after the "Antients" had been "healed" and regularized by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and when some of the most popular persons in the Colonies had joined them, the bitterness continued. In April, 1761, St. John's Grand Lodge passed a vote of outlawry against "a Lodge of Scotch Masons in Boston" (meaning St. Andrew's), to which, four years and again six year later, St. Andrew's

retaliated in kind. Nor was it until after the close of the Revolution that the "happy coalition" so much desired by St. Andrew's, was arrived at by the union of all the lodges in the independent Grand Lodge of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

That the sentiment of St. John's Lodge was not entirely Tory, however, is proved by the fact that Brother James Otis, although a member and regular attendant of the First Lodge of Boston, won immortality in his famous argument against the writs of assistance as the first to lift his voice in the cause of American liberty. And despite the mutual outlawry of "Antient" and "Modern" Masons, we read in the minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge for June 12, 1767, that "James Otis, Esq., be desired to attend tomorrow evening [doubtless for the purpose of delivering a patriotic address] and that a guinea fee be given him". It is of interest, however, to note that Brother Otis' opponent in the celebrated case now about to be described was Brother Jeremy Gridley, a prominent member of St. John's Lodge, and afterward Grand Master of "Modern" Masons.

The first attempt of the British Ministers to collect from the Colonies part of the cost of the French and Indian Wars was to enforce certain navigation acts which were intensely unpopular. The Colonists sought to avoid them by smuggling. Many of the leading Colonial merchants were smugglers and the people generally aided and abetted them. To break up smuggling the revenue officers made use of what

were known as writs of assistance, that is, general search warrants, authorizing them to search private houses on suspicion that they might contain smuggled goods.

When the Surveyor at the port of Boston, after the accession of George III, appeared before the Superior Court (1761) to swear out new writs of assistance, he was confronted by a young lawyer, Brother James Otis, who had resigned the lucrative post of Advocate-General to the Crown to appear as attorney for a group of prominent Boston merchants and show cause why the writs should not be issued.

At the hearing of this case, before the Superior Court in the Council Chamber in the Old State House, Otis won imperishable fame. He took the now familiar ground that taxation without representation is tyranny and, in this single phrase, gave the Colonists the great rallying cry of the Revolution. John Adams, who was present, describes Otis's speech as the "first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain". "Then and there", says he, "the child Independence was born". This speech not only elected Otis to the Massachusetts Assembly: it made him for ten years the idol of the Boston Town Meeting, and the most popular figure in New England.

One of the committee of merchants who retained Otis to plead against the writs of assistance was Brother John Hancock who had been made a Mason in "Queebeck" and was admitted into St. Andrew's

Lodge, in 1762. Hancock had inherited more than a quarter of a million dollars and was one of the wealthiest men in the Colonies. The fact that he joined the lodge of "Antients" meeting at an obscure tavern in the North End, rather than the "Modern" St. John's Lodge, meeting at the fashionable Royal Exchange, is significant. The sympathies of St. John's were with the officers of the Crown; those of St. Andrew's with the "Sons of Liberty".

Hancock was evidently influenced by his patriotic leanings and his intimate association in St. Andrew's with Brothers Warren, Revere, and their fellow patriots undoubtedly stimulated his zeal for the cause of independence.

Notwithstanding Otis's speech, the Colonists at the close of the French and Indian War (1763) were intensely loyal. During the war, they had been drawn very close to the Mother Country by a common danger. The British fleet had been their bulwark at sea and the British army had aided their defense against raids from Canada and the Mississippi. The Colonists had furnished the bulk of the armed land forces and contributed large amounts of money and supplies, but they recognized and valued the leadership of Pitt and his generals.

The victory, however, brought them not only a sense of security but a consciousness of their own power. When, therefore, the British Ministry, to avoid the difficulties of enforcing the navigation acts, proposed a stamp act, the tone of popular discussion took on

new vigor and for the first time the spirit of united opposition arose.

In May, 1764, Samuel Adams submitted to the Boston Town Meeting the first public denial of the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies and the first suggestion of a Congress for the redress of grievances, and resolutions were passed by several of the Colonial Assemblies, taking high ground against the right of the British Parliament to levy Colonial taxes.

In spite of this opposition, the stamp act was passed on March 22, 1765. The news was received in the Colonies in May and led to much rioting and disorder. Bells were tolled, shutters closed, flags flown at half-mast. In some places, the stamps were seized and burned. In others, the collectors were intimidated. Courts were closed, for business could not be transacted legally without stamps and none were to be had. Newspapers came out bearing a death's head where the stamp should have appeared. The act itself, printed on death-head paper, was hawked about the streets under the title "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America".

Finally the Ministry decided to put down or overawe that "nest of sedition", the Boston Town Meeting, and late in September, 1768, two British regiments arrived at Boston from Halifax. The troops, having landed at the Long Wharf, marched up King Street with flags flying, drums beating, and all the panoply of war, and were reviewed by the Governor at the State House.

The town of Boston having refused to furnish quarters for the British troops, the Governor was obliged to rent rooms for them in the city. Here they remained nearly two years. Their presence was most unpopular with the masses, but they behaved well under great provocation, and considerable fraternal intercourse took place between the brethren of Boston and members of the British military lodges.

That British officers, in spite of the popular attitude toward the troops, should attend the loyal and aristocratic St. John's Lodge is not surprising; but it is a striking instance of the universality of the Craft that St. Andrew's, in view of the well-known patriotism of its members, should vote the use of its hall to the military lodges in the hated 29th and 64th British Regiments, and even invite their co-operation in a joint application to the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a Provincial Grand Warrant. Such an application was made, however, and was promptly granted.

The Governor's demand for quarters for the newly arrived troops within the city of Boston met with a far different reception and led to the first protracted controversy between the ruling authorities and the Town Meeting and established Samuel Adams in the unquestioned leadership of that body.

Adams is described as a "man of the people, subtle, a born politician and leader of men." The arrival of British troops convinced him that a separation from the Mother Country was inevitable. At once he began deliberately to plan for revolution. At first he

stood nearly, if not quite, alone in his desire for independence, but, from this time (1768) he asserted popular rights with a passion that stirred passion in others. However, he "knew how to cloak his purpose and keep it from all whom it might shock, alienate or dismay," and thus, by slow degrees, he gained an ascendancy that meant revolution at his will.

Masonic tradition has persistently claimed both Samuel Adams and his second cousin, John Adams, as members of the Fraternity, and the writer, on a previous occasion, expressed the view that the record of his initiation may have been among the many that have been lost to sight. On further investigation, it appears certain that neither of the Adamses was a Mason; and this is the conclusion of the authorities of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. Full records of attendance at numerous St. John's Day Festivals and other special occasions, such as the public funerals of Gridley, Warren, and others, have been preserved when it is most unlikely that men so prominent as the Adamses would have absented themselves from the ranks of the Craft had they been entitled to be present.

Samuel Adams was a born "joiner", hail-fellow well met with all classes of society. The Green Dragon Tavern was his principal headquarters and its leading members, Warren, Hancock and Revere, his most active lieutenants. Hence the question why he did not join the Fraternity, is a curious one. We know that Adams was in straightened circumstances and he may have

looked upon Freemasonry as in the nature of a luxury. In view of his fixed idea to unite local sentiment in favor of independence, he may have been deterred by the unhappy controversy between the "Antient" and "Modern" lodges from throwing in his lot with either. Or there may have been private reasons for his failure to become a Mason which have not come down to us. At all events, we know that his principal associates in all his political activities were members of the Craft.

The case of John Adams is less surprising since he was a person of very different temperament, resided chiefly out of town, at Braintree, was preoccupied with domestic and business affairs, and disinclined to convivial society. That John Adams was not a Mason, although he early received a favorable impression of Freemasonry, is proved by the following letter which he wrote, while President of the United States, in acknowledgment of an address of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts:

"Many of my best friends," he wrote, "have been Masons and two of these, my professional patron, the learned Gridley, and my intimate friend, your immortal Warren, whose life and death are lessons of patriotism and philanthropy, were Grand Masters. It has happened that I never had the felicity to be initiated, but such examples as these and still greater in my venerable predecessor, would have been sufficient to induce me to hold the Institution and Fraternity in esteem and honor as favorable to the support of

civil authority, if I had not known their love of the fine arts, their delight in hospitality and devotion to humanity."

On the evening of March 5, 1770, occurred the Boston Massacre, depicted in a well-known engraving executed by Brother Paul Revere and hawked about the streets soon after the event. On that evening, a sentinel at the Custom House, accused of having pushed or struck with his musket a Boston boy, was attacked by a body of citizens and shouted for help. A file of soldiers sent to his relief was met by the mob with a volley of snow balls and pieces of ice. During the uproar, the soldiers discharged their guns into the mob, killing five and wounding six. The British regiments immediately seized their arms, deployed across King Street and prepared for volley firing. Only the coolness of the Governor in restraining the soldiers and addressing the mob, prevented a serious street battle.

All night drums rolled, bells clashed and the streets resounded with cries of "Town-born, turn out!" Next morning the whole population was under arms in and about Faneuil Hall and multitudes were pouring in from the surrounding country. It is of Masonic interest that, in this crisis, the people looked to Brothers Otis, Warren, Hancock and other Freemasons as their natural leaders.

Faneuil Hall, the usual place for town meetings, having filled to overflowing, the meeting adjourned to the old South Church, passing the windows of the

State House where the Governor and his Council, with the Colonels of the two British regiments, were in session, and filling the streets with their orderly but ominous ranks.

The day was spent in conferences with the result that, upon the demand of a Committee, speaking, in the words of Adams, their chairman, "on behalf of 3,000 resolute patriots who will not be denied", the Colonel of the offending troops agreed to remove his regiment to the harbor. As Adams carried this proposal from the Council Chamber in the State House to the Town Meeting in the Old South Church he called to the people on either side of his path, "Both or none!" and this cry, taken up by the entire multitude, so intimidated the British officers that they agreed to remove both regiments to Castle Williams.

This incident now seems trivial but, at the time, it created great excitement throughout the Colonies and went far toward making revolution inevitable. The historian of Massachusetts Lodge, an offshoot of the Green Dragon Masons, informs us that it had important Masonic consequences. For, while the massacre was still exciting the deepest feeling, some of the "best citizens of Boston", he informs us, projected that lodge "to be consecrated to all social and charitable offices", dominant among which was the cause of liberty.

Another incident growing out of the British efforts to enforce the Revenue Acts is of special interest to Masons, both because of its political consequences and

because it was enacted by members of the Fraternity. This was the burning of the Gaspee, a British revenue cutter.

The Gaspee was stationed at Newport, and the captain, by his overzealousness, had made himself highly objectionable to the people of Rhode Island. One evening in June, 1772, while pursuing an American vessel, the Gaspee ran aground. The following night she was attacked by a party of Americans and after a sharp fight, in which the commander was wounded, the crew was set on shore, and the hated craft was burned to the water's edge.

The raiding party was organized, and led by Brother Abraham Whipple of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, of Providence. All concerned were well known. But in spite of the large rewards offered by the royal governor, no evidence against the offenders could be secured and no judicial action was taken.

This incident led to the appointment of a Royal Commission with instructions to find and arrest the guilty parties and cause them to be transported to London for trial. The British threat to transport Colonists overseas for trial did much to unite the patriots from Massachusetts to far off Virginia.

In 1772, the Town Meeting of Boston, appointed a Committee of Correspondence to communicate with the surrounding towns and the world. In the last days of 1772, the Report of the Committee was published with immense effect. The towns addressed promptly appointed similar committees. One of the ablest

Tories called this "the foulest, subtlest and most venomous serpent ever issued from the egg of sedition". It transformed the towns, from a rope of sand, into a strong cord. The example of Massachusetts was adopted by the Virginia House of Burgesses (March, 1773) with the added suggestion of Colonial as well as town committees and Massachusetts promptly appointed a committee of fifteen members. Later in that year, the Governor of Massachusetts signified to the Assembly the King's disapproval of the committee system, but too late to be of any effect. The work of Otis, Warren, Hancock and their fellow patriots could not be undone.

In response to the appeals of British merchants suffering from the Colonial boycott, all the taxes were abandoned (1773) except that on tea, shiploads of which were consigned to Charleston, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. At Charleston, as is well known, the tea was stored in damp cellars where it perished. At Philadelphia, the captains were "permitted" to sail back with their cargoes to England. At New York, the tea was stored.

When, in November, 1773, cargoes of dutiable tea appeared in Boston, a famous incident occurred as to which every Freemason should have exact knowledge. Under the Boston port laws at that time, a cargo not cleared at the custom house within twenty days, was liable to be seized and confiscated by the revenue officers for the duty. The Boston Town Meeting which was in frequent session, refused to

permit the tea to be landed. The British Admiral declared that he would sink the ships if they attempted to leave the harbor. On the last day of grace, the Town Meeting once more overran Faneuil Hall and adjourned to the Old South Meeting House. St. Andrew's Lodge met on this evening but, according to a minute still preserved in the original records, "closed, on account of the few members present, until tomorrow evening." The rendezvous was in the printing house of Edes and Gill, proprietors of the Boston Gazette, (Brother Jonathan W. Edes having been made by St. Andrew's) on the corner of Court and Franklin Streets, not far from the Old South Church.

About nightfall, Samuel Adams, rising in his place at the Town Meeting, gave the agreed signal by solemnly declaring "This meeting can do nothing further to save the country." Thereupon the warwhoop was sounded, cries arose, "Hurrah for Griffin's wharf! The Boston Harbor a tea pot tonight!" and members of St. Andrew's Lodge and others, to the number of about 90, accompanied by a vast concourse of spectators, made their way to the wharf where the tea ships were anchored, stationed guards to prevent interruption, broke open the chests and emptied their contents into the harbor. Thus they satisfied the significant inquiry of Brother John Rowe, of St. Andrew's, who had provoked laughter and applause in the Town Meeting by demanding to know "whether tea would mingle with salt water". No sooner was the "Tea Party" at an end than Brother Revere was

off with the news to New York and Philadelphia, and so anxious was he to return to the scene of action that he completed the journey on horseback in eleven days.

The "Tea Party", according to the tradition of St. Andrew's Lodge, originated within its walls and was carried out under its leadership. Colonel Henry Purkett, a Revolutionary officer and member of St. Andrew's, was the last known survivor of the "Indians" who threw overboard the tea. He declared that the plans were initiated and matured at the Green Dragon Tavern and in St. Andrew's Lodge and that the master spirits were his fellow members. The names of more than a dozen St. Andrew's Masons, who are definitely known to have taken part in the affair, are recorded by the lodge historian, and there is reason to believe that many others were present.

That grave counsel had been taken for several weeks before the "Tea Party" is shown by the fact that the annual election, which was due on St. Andrew's night, November 30, had to be postponed. Only seven members were present. The secretary closed his minutes with the significant notice: "N.B. Consignees of the tea took up the brethren's time." On the night of the "Tea Party", December 16, only five brethren were present. The others were evidently occupied elsewhere. The Master, Brother Joseph Warren, was presented to the Privy Council of England as the leader of the "Tea Party" and was frequently accused by loyalists at home of having been a member of the Mohawk band. Brother John Hancock, captain of

the Boston Cadets, is believed to have been in charge of the guard. Brother Paul Revere, then a very influential member, was also an active leader. These master spirits entrusted the execution of the plan to the North End Caucus, a band of stalwart, daring and fearless mechanics who met at the Green Dragon under the leadership of Warren, Hancock, and Revere, and of which many St. Andrew's Masons were active members.

The following old Revolutionary ditty, said to have been the rallying song of the "Tea Party" at the Green Dragon Tavern is significant:

"Rally, Mohawks! Bring out your axes!
And tell King George we'll pay no taxes
On his foreign tea
"His threats are vain; he need not think
To force our wives and girls to drink
His vile Bohea!
"Then rally, boys, and hasten on
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon.

Our Warren's there, and bold Revere,
With hands to do and words to cheer
For liberty and laws.
"Our country's 'braves' and firm defenders
Shall ne'er be left by true North-Enders,
Fighting Freedom's cause!
Then rally, boys, and hasten on
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon."

The contrast between the attitude of Brother John Rowe of St. Andrew's and that of his uncle of the same name, then Grand Master of St. John's Grand Lodge, illustrates the difference in sentiment between the "Antient" and "Modern" Masons and throws an

interesting sidelight upon the history of the times. The nephew, it will be recalled, desired to know "how tea would mingle with salt water", and doubtless took part in the interesting experiment that followed. The uncle, one of the wealthiest merchants and importers of the city, confided much to his diary that he evidently did not wish to reveal to his fellow townsmen. The italics have been inserted.

"November 30 (1773) Tuesday.

"The Body (the Boston Town meeting) met again this morning. The Govr Sent them a Message advising them to depart at their Perill—they took but Little Notice of the Message—they met again this Afternoon. I told them that I had Purchas'd a Cargo for Capt Bruce Ship—that it was on the Wharff & that Capt Bruce when he arrived would apply to The Body & that I would Endeavour to prevail on him to act with Reason in this Affair & that I was very Sorry he had any Tea on Board—& which is very True for it hath Given me Great Uneasiness.

"I staid sometime at the Meeting & was Chose a Committee Man *much against my Will* but I dare not say a word. *****

"After Dinner I was sent for by The Body by Two Messengers, John Ingersoll & Jos Evers. This was at the Motion of Mr. Hancock. *I wish he had omitted it.*

"2 December (1773) Thursday.

"Capt Bruce arrived this morning from London.

"3d December (1773) Fryday.

"This morning Capt Bruce & I was sent for by the Committee Relative (to) the Tea on board him—they order'd him to Griffins Wharff—& gave him the same Directions as to Capt Hall.

"11 December (1773) Saturday.

"This Forenoon a Committee was Sent to Mee abt Bruce's Ship—Dr Warren Wm. Mollineaux John Pitts—to know when she would be unloaded & many other Questions.

"16 December (1773) Thursday. *****

"The Body Meeting in the Forenoon adjourned untill Afternoon. Broke up at dark.

"A Number of People appearing In Indian Dresses went on board the three Ships Hall Bruce & Coffin. they Opin'd the Hatches, hoisted Out the Tea & flung it Overboard, this Might, I believe have been prevented. *I am sincerely Sorry for the Event.* 'Tis said near two thousand People were present at this Affair.

"18 December (1773) Saturday *****

"The Affair of Destroying the Tea makes Great Noise in the Town—tis a Disastrous Affair & some People are much Alarm'd. I Can truly Say, I know nothing of the Matter nor who were Concerned in it. I would Rather have Lost five hundred Guineas than Capt Bruce should have taken any of this Tea on board his Ship.

"14 July (1774) Thursday. *****

"This day a fast is Recommended by Some of the Ministers, on Acct of the miserable Situation of this

Town. *I cannot Reconcile this Measure* & should much Rather the People would do Justice & Recommend the Payment for the Tea instead of Loosing a Day by fasting.

"22 Sept. (1774) Thursday. *****

"This day is the Anniversary of his Majestys Accession to the Throne. I went to the Council Chamber with the Governor Admirall & Many Other Gentlemen to drink the Kings Health and many other Loyall Toasts.***

"8 April (1776) Monday *****

"afternoon, I went by Invitation of Brother Webb to attend the Funerall of the Remains of Dr. Warren & went accordingly to the Councill Chamber with a Design to Attend & Walk in Procession with the Lodges under my Jurisdiction with our Proper Jewells & Clothing—but to my great Mortification was very much insulted—by Some furious & hot Persons —without the Least Provocation., one of (the) Brethren thought it most Prudent for Mee to Retire. I accordingly did so. this has caused Some Uneasy Reflections in my Mind as I am not Conscious to myself Of doing any thing Prejudicial to the Cause of America either by Will, word or deed."

A comparison of Brother Rowe's entry of November 30, 1773, with that in the minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge explains in what way the "Consignees of the tea took up the brethren's time". The entries of September 22, 1774, and April 8, 1776, illustrate the struggles of many of the leading members of the

"Modern" lodges, and others of conservative temper, to reconcile their inbred loyalty to the Crown with the demands of their rebellious countrymen.

The value of the destroyed tea was not far from \$75,000 and the British Ministers determined to compel the town of Boston to repay the aggrieved merchants. To this end they passed a measure known as the Boston Port Bill (March, 1774) closing the port until such time as the tea should be paid for, and others depriving the Colony of many of its charter rights and privileges. The patriots of Boston now gave the Colonists a fresh rallying cry in a letter to the Colonial assemblies and Committees of Correspondence, asking them to declare that Boston must be regarded as "suffering for the common cause". The Virginia House of Burgesses not only adopted resolutions to this effect, but made June 1, on which the Port Bill went into effect, a day of fasting and prayer.

For this act the Royal Governor dissolved the Assembly. Thereupon the members met in the Long Room of the Raleigh Tavern, where their leaders had been accustomed to assemble in fraternal intercourse, and asserted their inherent right of self-government. An annual Congress of Colonies was suggested and a Colonial Convention at Richmond was planned for the following August, to choose delegates to the Congress and to concert measures in support of their New England brethren. The "most eloquent speech" at this convention was that of

Brother Washington: "I will raise one thousand men toward the relief of Boston and subsist them at my own expense." The issue between the Colonists and the Mother Country was now fairly joined and no recourse was left but the arbitrament of war.

CHAPTER V THE DAWN OF LIBERTY

THE first Continental Congress is of great Masonic interest. A Union of the Colonies had been suggested by Grand Master Coxe in 1772 and later advocated by Brother Benjamin Franklin in 1754. This plan was laid before the Congress and was pronounced by Brother Edmund Randolph to be almost perfect, but was defeated by a very slender majority. Had it passed, had the time been ripe for its passage, many of the most serious difficulties of the Revolution might have been avoided.

Many of the Committees of Correspondence that helped to bring about the Revolution, as well as the Committees of Safety that took over local civil and military authority in the early stages of the great struggle were composed almost exclusively of Masons, and their meetings, often being necessarily in secret, were frequently held in lodge rooms. The leaders of these Committees and of the Provincial Assemblies were most often Masons as the records show. The Congress itself grew out of the Committees of Correspondence. Leading Freemasons in the various Colonial Assemblies played an influential part in bringing it about and many of them were elected delegates.

Philadelphia, partly by reason of its central location and partly as the principal city in the Colonies, was selected as the meeting place of the Continental

Congress. The plan of the city was an oblong, one mile long by two broad, the streets crossing at right angles. It then contained over 2,000 homes of wood or brick, from two to four stories high. The built-up portion extended along the waterfront about two miles and inland to a depth of two or three streets. The city was said to be "very full of inhabitants and trade"; there being at times more than one hundred sea-going vessels in the harbor.

The City Tavern, described by John Adams as "the most genteel" in America, was the rendezvous for members of the Congress. Here, the week preceding the day of opening of the Congress, the delegates assembled to breakfast, dine and sup together and for private conferences. The leading Masons in Philadelphia were frequent visitors at the City Tavern and Masonic meetings were held here temporarily during the Revolution while Freemasons' Lodge was being used for hospital purposes.

The formal history of Freemasonry in America begins with the appointment, in 1730, of Daniel Coxe as Provincial Grand Master for New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania for two years. Coxe did not visit the Colonies during this time and there is no evidence that he ever exercised his functions. His name is of Masonic interest chiefly because he published the first formal plan for the Union of all the Colonies.

The first record of the meeting of a lodge of Freemasons in America appears in the Pennsylvania

Gazette of June 26, 1732. The item recites that a Grand Lodge met at the Sun Tavern, and chose Brother William Allen as Grand Master of the Province, who appointed Brother Benjamin Franklin (made a Mason in February 1732, in the First Lodge of Philadelphia) as his Junior Grand Warden.

When the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, nine English lodges, four "Modern" and five "Antient", and one Scotch lodge, had been warranted in that city. The records of the early lodges are far from complete, but from the best available figures it would appear that the Masonic population of Philadelphia and vicinity must have been somewhat more than one thousand in all. The first men of the city and state were among their number. The membership of old St. John's Lodge, No. 1 alone, included nine lawyers, of whom seven were judges, four mayors of Philadelphia, two high sheriffs, two physicians, two coroners, and two governors of Pennsylvania. No less than eight were scientists of sufficient distinction to be members of the American Philosophical Society.

In 1755, the three "Modern" lodges, then presided over by R. W. William Allen, Chief Justice of the Province, erected on Videll's, afterwards known as Lodge Alley, a handsome two-story brick building, a pretentious structure for the time, which is said to have been the first building dedicated to Freemasonry in the New World. The next year, the brethren assembled in this building and celebrated the feast of St. John's Day with great pomp and display, the governor of the

province walking with his Masonic brethren in the procession. This was the meeting place of the "Modern" lodges, including the Grand Lodge, up to the time of the Revolution.

Who can doubt that the Philadelphia brethren on this momentous occasion greeted fraternally the leading men and Masons of the Colonies, thus brought together for the first time, and paved the way by liberal Masonic hospitality for future fraternal intercourse?

The Congress having assembled in the City Tavern on the morning of Sept. 5, 1774, marched thence in a body and convened in Carpenter's Hall, an excellent example of Colonial architecture, planned and occupied by a local gild of carpenters. Here they promptly organized and elected Peyton Randolph, then Provincial Grand Master of Virginia and the highest Masonic officer present, to the chair.

The members of this notable gathering were picked men fit for the critical business of the hour. All the Colonies but one were represented by their real leaders. The Congress, said John Adams, was a "collection of the greatest men upon the Continent in point of ability, virtue and fortunes." The middle Colonies, New York and Pennsylvania, were conservative; the East and South were more radical, revolutionary and defiant. The Congress labored seven weeks in all and published to the world a Declaration of Rights and appeals to the king, the British people and the Colonies, never surpassed as state papers, in the opinion of Lord Chatham, "by any body of men of any age or nation".

No word of rebellion was spoken at any of the public sessions but, privately, the delegates organized what we would now call a boycott on English goods, with committees in every town and county in each Colony to interchange ideas and effect a complete system of surveillance and duress. Doubtless Samuel Adams, whose mind had been made up for revolution since the landing of British troops in Boston, in 1768, confided his real views in private to an inner circle of patriotic intimates whom he could trust and thus did much, in his quiet way, to advance the cause of liberty. Nor did he stand alone; for Patrick Henry exclaimed, when John Adams read to him the opinion of Brother Josiah Hawley, of Massachusetts, that the Colonists would be forced to fight, "By God, I am of that man's opinion." In short, there was a marked difference between what the Congress said aloud to the world and what it quietly did to defeat the plans of the British Ministry.

Already, in December of 1774, news had reached Boston that the King had placed an embargo on arms and ammunition for the Colonies, and it became known that two regiments of British troops were about to march from Boston to Portsmouth to reinforce Fort William and Mary. In this emergency, Brother Joseph Warren, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, dispatched Brother Paul Revere to give the alarm. Major, afterwards General, John Sullivan, who had been made a Mason in St. John's Lodge, Portsmouth, in 1768, an intrepid and energetic leader, was in command of the New Hampshire militia. At the head of a force of

four hundred men he surprised the fort, received the surrender of the commandant and his little garrison and captured one hundred kegs of gun powder and a quantity of small arms. These he promptly buried under the pulpit of an old meeting house. The powder was afterward of service on the field of battle at Bunker Hill where it arrived in the very nick of time. This was the first act of armed rebellion in the Colonies and all the leading actors were members of the Masonic Fraternity.

In the spring of 1775, the threatening attitude of the Colonial militia and the approach of the second Congress suggested to the royal Governors, as a precautionary measure, the seizure of the Colonial supplies of ammunition. In April, Governor Dunmore of Virginia landed marines and rifled the powder horn at Williamsburg. The county militia promptly rose with Patrick Henry at their head, too late, indeed, to save the powder but in season to compel payment. In June, Governor Dunmore betook himself for safety to a royal frigate. The Revolution in Virginia had begun. Like attempts were made in other Colonies of which the most celebrated was the famous raid on the military stores collected by the Colony of Massachusetts at Concord.

By no means all the "Sons of Liberty" who met at the Green Dragon Tavern at Boston were members of St. Andrew's Lodge, but the leaders were the same. The Master of the lodge was Brother Joseph Warren, who was now Provincial Grand Master under warrant

from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and the acknowledged leader of "Antient" Masons in America. The Junior Warden was Brother Paul Revere. Brother John Hancock was an influential member.

The town was full of clubs and caucuses to secure unity of action. One of these, organized by Revere, consisted of about thirty persons, chiefly North End mechanics, who agreed to watch the British soldiers and Tories and whose meetings were held here in secret. "Every time we met", says Revere, "each swore on the Bible not to discover our transactions, but to Hancock, Warren, Church, and one or two more leaders." The members of this club patrolled the streets at night and watched for any movement of the troops. The tavern was a safe and suitable meeting place for the committees and rallies of all these groups and Warren, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, caused that body to meet there.

On the evening of April 16, information came to Warren of a British expedition to seize Samuel Adams and Brother Hancock, who were in hiding in Lexington, and destroy the stores at Concord. The plans by which the British were forestalled were made and executed by Brother Warren and his Masonic associates. Brother Revere was dispatched via Charleston as a courier, "to ride and spread the alarm". To Brother John Pulling, Jr., a vestryman of the North Church and a boyhood friend of Revere, was assigned the duty of giving the signal by means of lanterns from the North Church tower, "one if by land and two if by sea". All

acted under Warren's immediate orders. Never did Worshipful Master more worthily set the Craft at work or give them better instruction for their labor.

Revere, in his written account states that, after having been rowed across the Charles River by friends, he began his famous ride at Charleston, "upon a good horse, about eleven o'clock and very pleasant". He was chased, by a British patrol, but escaped. He first drew rein at Medford to awaken the captain of the Minute Men; after that he alarmed almost every house.

All are familiar with Longfellow's immortal lines:

"A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath, from the pebbles in passing a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet,
That was all: and yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark struck out by that steed in his flight
Kindled the land into flame with its heat."

Every member of our Fraternity should be aware that the divine spark of patriotism that glowed in the heart of Paul Revere was kindled at the sacred altar of Freemasonry.

Revere himself, afterward Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, is one of the most interesting of Revolutionary figures. As courier of the Massachusetts Committee of Correspondence, he had frequent occasion to carry letters to the surrounding towns, as well as to the Committees at New York and Philadelphia. On these journeys, he undoubtedly fraternized and exchanged views with his Masonic

brethren and had, perhaps, as wide a Masonic acquaintance as any member of the Craft of that day.

In private life, Revere was an all 'round mechanic. Bills are still preserved showing that he one day shod a horse and fitted a set of false teeth! After the death of Warren, he identified the body by a tooth which he had filled with gold. A skilled draftsman and engraver, he designed many patriotic and Masonic emblems. He also did much to stimulate popular sentiment for independence by designing and selling patriotic prints in Boston and vicinity.

After Bunker Hill, Revere was appointed a colonel of Massachusetts militia with headquarters at Castle Williams, Boston, but his mechanical skill defeated his military ambitions. He was successively employed as an engraver of the Provincial and Continental coinage, as powder manufacturer, and as cannon founder until the end of the war.

The British expedition marched by way of Cambridge, whereas Revere took the upper road through Medford. To arouse the slumbering countryside took time and, fast as he rode, the British were on his heels. It was in the famous Hancock-Clarke House at Lexington that Adams and Hancock were awakened by Revere, on the morning of April 17, just in time to make their escape. "Noise", said Revere to the protesting sentinel, "you will have noise enough. The regulars will soon be here."

The story of the affairs at Lexington and Concord are too well known to need recital. A suitably in-

scribed boulder marks the spot where Captain Parker gave his famous command to the Minute Men: "Stand your ground. Don't fire unless fired upon; but, if they mean to have a war, let it begin here."

A drawing of the skirmish of Lexington, which was made within a few weeks of the event by Brother Amos Doolittle of Hiram Lodge, No. 1, of New Haven, from descriptions of eye witnesses, has become the basis for all subsequent historical pictures of this famous event. It was in the gray dawn of an April morning, "a glorious morning for America", when the royal troops reached Lexington Common. They had heard the drum beat of the Minute Men and advanced at double quick with loaded muskets. About seventy militia men confronted 600 trained soldiers. "Too few to resist, too brave to fly", they did the best they could and, after years of conflict which here began, American liberty was won.

The British now advanced to Concord, only to find, thanks to the forethought of Brother Warren, that the Colonists had removed most of the stores. At Concord Bridge was fired "the shot heard round the world" and, during the retreat the Minute Men, "gave the regulars ball for ball", and drove them back in confusion on their base at Boston. Revere promptly carried the news of these stirring events to New York and Philadelphia, whence they reached the ears of the various delegates on their way to attend the second Congress.

The adjourned session, commonly known as the

second Continental Congress, met at Philadelphia May 10, 1775, in Independence Hall, then, perhaps, the finest public building in the Colonies. This historic edifice shares with Faneuil Hall the proud title of "The Cradle of American Liberty". The project for its erection originated among the Freemasons of Philadelphia and was put through by them during the Grand Mastership of Benjamin Franklin (1733) against much opposition. The ground was purchased by R. W. William Allen, afterwards Grand Master, with his own funds, to hold it until the city should be ready. The building was designed by Brother Andrew Hamilton and many of the builders were Freemasons. The cornerstone was laid, according to tradition, by R. W. Benjamin Franklin with Masonic ceremonies.

The very day that the Congress met, Brother Ethan Allen, a Vermont Mason, at the head of the Green Mountain Boys, walked into the unguarded fortress of Ticonderoga and took possession "in the name of the Continental Congress and the Great Jehovah," as one historian dryly observes, "without being able to show credentials from either". Two days later, Crown Point was taken, thus averting for the time danger of invasion from Canada. In the two forts were captured many cannon which later enabled Washington to fortify the heights of Dorchester and expel the British from Boston.

Thus, when the second Congress convened, a number of Colonies were in a state of armed rebellion. Brother George Washington attended in full uniform, the buff

and blue of a provincial colonel, and occupied most of his time giving advice on military preparations. On June 15, Congress adopted the militia around Boston as the Continental Army and made Brother Washington Commander-in-chief. Two days later came Bunker Hill, the news of which reached Washington on his way to take command. His first question was about the militia. "Did they stand their ground under fire?" When told that they did, he responded, "Then the liberties of the country are safe!"

Bunker Hill will ever be among the most sacred shrines of Freemasonry because of the death there of our immortal brother, R. W. Joseph Warren. In private life Warren was the family physician of the Adamses, the Hancocks, and many other distinguished families in Boston. An active leader of the "Sons of Liberty", he was commissioned a Major-General but declined command at Bunker Hill, and instead, volunteered his services as a private to his Masonic brother, General Israel Putnam.

The story of the battle is familiar to all. A glance at the map shows clearly how the field of action was commanded by the guns of the North battery at Boston and the ships in the harbor, shells from which soon set on fire the village of Charlestown. The famous painting by Brother Jonathan Trumbull shows clearly the scene of Warren's death. Our illustrious brother was the first man of distinction to lay down his life in the cause of independence. In the language of Hayden, "This was the first grand offering of Masonry

at the altar of Liberty and the ground floor of her temple was blood-stained at its Eastern gate."

A letter written shortly after the Battle of Bunker Hill, from Mrs. John Adams to her husband at Philadelphia, gives evidence of the place then held by Freemasonry in public esteem. We are not here concerned with the truth of the rumor repeated by Mrs. Adams, which was doubtless exaggerated by the excited passions of the time, but there can be no doubt of her conception of the strength of the Masonic tie.

"We learn", she says, "from one of the deserters, that our ever-loved Warren, dear to us even in death, was not treated with any more respect than a common soldier, but the savage wretches called officers consulted together and agreed to sever his head from his body and carry it in triumph to Gage. ***** What humanity could not obtain, the rites and ceremonies of Masons demanded. An officer, who, it seemed, was one of the Brotherhood, requested that as a Mason he might have the body unmangled and find a decent interment for it. He obtained his request, but when he returned to secure it, he found it already thrown into the earth only with the ceremony of being first placed there and with men's bodies over it."

The body of Warren was, in fact, identified by friends the morning after the battle and hastily buried on the spot where he fell. The burial place was duly marked. After the British evacuation a year later, the body was exhumed, carried in solemn procession from the State House to King's Chapel and buried with

military and Masonic honors. The oration delivered on that occasion by Brother Perez Morton has been compared to Anthony's speech over the body of Caesar. "Our Grand Master", said he, "fell by the hands of ruffians, but was afterwards raised in honor and authority. We searched on the field for the murdered son of a widow and found him by the turf and the twig buried on the brow of a hill."

King Solomon's Lodge, of Charlestown, afterwards purchased the site of Warren's death and erected there a monument to his memory. Later they donated this site for the famous Bunker Hill Monument, which now contains a model of the original monument to Warren. A fund was subscribed by his Masonic brethren for the relief of Warren's widow and children, and it is of interest to know that among the largest subscriptions was one, said to be of \$500, from Benedict Arnold.

On June 19, Washington took command at Cambridge. Congress, meanwhile, having re-assembled in the Fall of 1775, after a short recess, remained in continuous session and the part played in its work by Freemasons was an influential one.

R. W. Brother Benjamin Franklin, having returned from London at this juncture (1775), was elected to Congress, and at once assumed the leadership due to his experience and grasp of practical affairs. That a Masonic banquet was given by the Philadelphia brethren to greet their distinguished Past Grand Master and afford him opportunity to meet in fraternal intercourse the foremost Masonic leaders of the Ameri-

can continent, we may safely take for granted; and that the bond of Freemasonry was of utmost value in strengthening the sentiment for union between the Colonists through the fraternal intercourse of their leaders in Congress is beyond question.

Inspired by Washington's success in driving the British troops out of Boston, and upon his urgent recommendation, Congress, in the Spring of 1776, finally took up the question of political separation from the Mother Country. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee drafted the famous resolution that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states". A committee consisting of Jefferson, John Adams and Brothers Franklin, Roger Sherman of Connecticut and Robert Livingston, afterward Grand Master of Masons in New York, was appointed to draft a suitable declaration to that effect. After three days' debate, their report was adopted late in the afternoon of July 4.

The adoption of the Declaration was heralded by the ringing of the famous Liberty Bell, first received in Philadelphia from London in 1752 (the year in which St. Andrew's Lodge first met and Washington was made a Mason) and prophetically inscribed with this legend: "Proclaim Liberty Throughout the Land and to All the Inhabitants Thereof."

"That old State-House bell is silent; hushed is now its clamoring tongue;
But the spirit it awakened still is living, ever young;
And when we greet the smiling sunlight on the Fourth of each
July,

We will ne'er forget the bell-man who, betwixt the earth and sky,
Rung out, loudly, INDEPENDENCE, which, please God,
SHALL NEVER DIE!"

The Declaration was solemnly and publicly read in every city and town throughout the continent and was everywhere received "as if it had been handed down from heaven". During the celebration in New York occurred an incident so symbolic of the time that, with it, we may well bring this chapter to a close. Near the Bowling Green stood an equestrian statue of George III cast in lead. The Sons of Liberty hauled from its pedestal this evidence of their former loyalty to the British throne and converted it into bullets with which to make effective their Declaration of Independence!

The die was now cast. The work of Brothers Otis, Warren and other civilian patriots, our Masonic forbears, was done and well done. The Colonies had taken their place among the nations of the earth as "Free and Independent States".

CHAPTER VI.

THE SIEGES OF BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

"**G**OD hath made mankind one mighty Brotherhood, Himself, their Master and the World their Lodge." In like manner the American Colonies, at the outbreak of the struggle for liberty, have been likened to a great Masonic lodge with Warren in the East, Franklin in the West, Washington in the South, and a majority of the patriot leaders as members. Prior to this time more than one hundred regular lodges had been warranted in the Colonies; more than fifty military lodges had come to America with British troops; and several thousand Colonists had been made Masons, many of whom had seen service in the Colonial wars.

The Battle of Lexington sent an electric shock throughout America. The Minute Men were summoned from field and fireside. The Colonies were in an uproar. The people, roused to action, echoed with one voice the cry of Virginia's great orator, "Liberty or death". Leading Freemasons sprang to arms and members of lodges joined military companies. Many lodge records recite that candidates were entered, crafted, raised or furnished with certificates, because they were about to join the army. At New Haven, General David Wooster, Master of Hiram Lodge, No. 1, a veteran of the French war, and Captain Benedict Arnold, both Freemasons, were the popular leaders.

Arnold promptly called for volunteers and set forth at their head for the camp at Boston. As he passed through Pomfret, General Israel Putnam, a Mason and a veteran of the French war, joined him, leaving his plow in the furrow.

The spirit of liberty was in the air. The men who drove the British from Lexington and Concord, and swarmed like angry bees on the heights about Boston, save for a few veterans of the Indian wars, were not trained soldiers. They were farmers, clerks and mechanics, some of them mere boys, who sprang to arms in a fervor of patriotism at the first call of duty. Many were good fighters after the Indian fashion, but years of training were required to weld them into conquering armies.

Congress, recognizing the necessity of military discipline, adopted the forces around Boston as the Continental Army and appointed Brother George Washington Commander-in-Chief. Washington was chosen partly because of the fame he had won in the Braddock expedition, partly to insure the support of the southern Colonies. The men over whom he was placed in command were simple, democratic, hard-working people, dissenters to the backbone. They regarded Episcopacy as little short of papistry. Yet Washington, when he was thus passed over the heads of their native generals, was an aristocrat, a slave owner, and a member of the Established church. He was, however, a Freemason and, as such, was acceptable to the leading patriots in both civil and military life.

On July 2, 1775, Washington took command at Cambridge. He was a rigid disciplinarian and promptly brought order out of chaos. Yet the army, although intensely democratic and intolerant of control, loyally accepted and obeyed him. How far Freemasonry may have inspired democratic sentiments in Washington and influenced the attitude of the army toward him, is an interesting speculation. The known facts are that his most popular and influential officers, including the leading New England generals, were Masons, that Washington was often in fraternal intercourse with them, and that he thought it no derogation of his dignity to stand upon a level with his brethren in either the regular or military lodges.

The news of Bunker Hill brought together at the camp at Roxbury some thirty thousand minute-men, chiefly from New England, and we may safely assume that contingents from all the local lodges were among them. In this section, Freemasonry had been propagated chiefly from Boston as a center, although a few lodges had been constituted by the British grand bodies direct or by the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York. More than a score of lodges were in existence before the Revolution, in addition to those in Boston, including one each in Maine and New Hampshire, three in Rhode Island, seven in Massachusetts, and twelve in Connecticut; or twenty-four in all.

After the evacuation of Boston, the tides of war drifted to the west and south and, with a few exceptions, such as the occupation of Newport, the burning

of Falmouth and New London, and the raids of Tryon in Connecticut, conditions in New England became comparatively normal. Under these circumstances, Freemasonry grew and prospered and another score of lodges sprang up during the war. Of these one each was in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island, five in Connecticut, and ten in Massachusetts.

The following list of towns where these lodges were located will suffice to give some impression of the local influence of the Craft: Falmouth (now Portland) and Machias, in Maine; Portsmouth, in New Hampshire; Cornish, Vermont; Marblehead, Hampshire County, Newbury Port (2), Salem, Sherburne (on Nantucket Island), Gloucester, Stockbridge, Lancaster, Danvers, Salem, Ipswich, Beverly and Charlestown, Massachusetts; Newport (3) and Providence, Rhode Island; New Haven, New London, Fairfield (now Bridgeport), Hartford, Middletown, Waterbury, Norwalk, Greenwich, Stratford, Wallingford, Guilford, Danbury, Litchfield, Colchester, Derby and Salisbury, Connecticut. Thus upward of fifty Masonic lodges throughout New England contributed their influence to the support of the Continental arms.

Col. Richard Gridley, the engineer in charge of the entrenchments around Boston, a veteran of the French war, was deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. In November, Brother Gridley having become incapacitated by age and infirmities, Washington recommended as his successor Brother Henry

Knox, a member of the First Lodge of Boston, a stalwart young bookseller, who had been second in command of a volunteer artillery company. An eye witness to the Boston massacre, Knox, although he had recently married the daughter of a prominent Tory, refused all inducements to join the royal army and escaped from Boston by night to enlist as a volunteer.

It was Brother Knox who thought of and carried out the arduous task of dragging to Boston on ox sleds the 55 cannon captured by Brother Ethan Allen at Fort Ticonderoga. With these cannon, on the night of March 4, the fifth anniversary of the Boston Massacre, Washington fortified Dorchester Heights which commanded the city. When Howe saw the frowning guns on the heights, he did not wait to be attacked, but embarked for Halifax, taking with him more than 1,000 royalists. We still apply the expression, "Go to Halifax", to those we are glad to be rid of. The liberation of New England had cost less than 200 lives.

In February, shortly before the evacuation of Boston, Brother Gridley, on behalf of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, issued a warrant to some brethren in the Connecticut line for the famous American Union Lodge, No. 1. It was authorized to meet either in the camp at Roxbury, or wherever the Connecticut troops should happen to be, provided no other Grand Master held authority. The lodge promptly organized with about fifty members. Numerous applications were received, including those of Generals S. H. Parsons and Rufus Putnam.

During the siege of Boston, Brother Ethan Allen, with a force of Green Mountain Boys, attempted to surprise and capture Montreal, as he had taken Ticonderoga; but was captured and sent to England. To forestall a British invasion from Canada, an expedition was then organized, under Gen. Richard Montgomery (a Freemason and a son-in-law of Brother Robert R. Livingston) who had served in the French war. Brother Montgomery captured St. Johns and Montreal and advanced to Quebec. Here he found Brother Arnold with seven hundred men, who had struggled through the Maine Wilderness by way of the Kennebec and Chaudiere rivers despite the loss of two-thirds of their number. On December 31, in a blinding snowstorm, a joint attack was made from opposite sides of the city. The gallant Montgomery was shot down at the head of his men and died in the arms of Col. Seth Warner, a member of Union Lodge No. 1, of Albany; and Arnold, foremost in the assault, had his leg pierced by a bullet. The American expedition was forced to retreat.

As soon as the British evacuated Boston, Washington hastened to New York, which was now exposed to attack from Canada as well as from the sea. Brooklyn Heights dominated New York much as Dorchester Heights dominated Boston, and Washington ordered Brother Greene to intrench and occupy them with 9,000 men, about half his army.

The first Freemasons to settle in the province of New York and assemble by right of immemorial usage

have left no memorials and their story has been honored by no chronicler. The first Grand Master, R. W.: Daniel Coxe, as we have seen, did not exercise his prerogative. The second, Capt. Richard Riggs, arrived in New York in May of 1738. The following January a notice appeared in the New York Gazette that the lodge would meet in future at the Montgomerie Arms Tavern. Apparently, there was but one lodge at this time, the First St. John's Lodge of New York. In 1753, Capt. Riggs having returned to London, R. W.: George Harison was appointed Grand Master and was installed on St. John, the Evangelist's Day, in December of that year. On this occasion about fifty "Masons, Fellowcrafts, and 'Prentices" walked in public procession to attend old Trinity Church, "with the utmost decorum under a discharge of guns from some vessels in the harbor and made a very genteel appearance". Prior to the Revolution, we read of nine other lodges, St. John's Lodge, No. 2, Temple, Trinity, Union, King Solomon's, Hiram, Independent Royal Arch, and King David (the last consisting of Jewish brethren), of which but two, St. John's Lodge, No. 2 (now No. 1) and Independent Royal Arch, now No. 2, are now in existence.

In 1767, Sir John, son of Sir William Johnson, Indian agent for the Colonies, was appointed Grand Master, but was not installed until four years later. On the eve of the Revolution, Sir John, a Tory of the Tories, appointed Dr. Peter Middleton, of New York, Deputy Grand Master and devoted his energies to the

loyalist cause. Dr. Middleton, afterward warranted two military lodges, as will further appear.

Thus, a Provincial Grand Lodge and ten or more private lodges were, or had been, at work in the city of New York at the time it was occupied by Washington's army. All appear to have been "Modern" lodges, but the great majority of the members seem to have been ardently devoted to the patriot cause. Among the patriot leaders who were trained in New York Lodges were John Cruger, mayor of New York; Colonel Marinus Willett, a prominent member of the Committee of Safety; and Robert Livingston, Past Master of Union Lodge, one of the foremost public men of the province.

In July, 1775, Deputy Grand Master Middleton issued a warrant to Masonic brethren who had joined the ranks of the Revolutionists for the first military lodge in the Continental Army under the style of St. John's Regimental Lodge, No. 1. On the arrival of Washington's army, American Union Lodge, No. 1, appealed to him for a confirmation of their Massachusetts charter. This he declined, but issued to them a new charter as Military Union Lodge No. 1. Preferring the original name, the lodge voted that the belongings of American Union Lodge be "considered only as loaned to Military Union" and continued to work and be known by their former designation.

On August 22, Howe crossed from Staten Island to Brooklyn and landed twenty thousand men at Gravesend Bay under the guns of the fleet. The American

Army, now commanded by Brother Israel Putnam, owing to the illness of Brother Greene, was in two divisions; the right commanded by Lord Stirling; the left by General Sullivan, both Freemasons. Having dispatched strong columns to engage Stirling and Sullivan, Howe, guided by a Tory Longislander, turned the American flank and attacked them from the rear.

The hero of this battle was Brother Stirling, who, finding himself surrounded and outnumbered, instructed his men to break ranks and escape through the swamps around Gowanus Creek. Many made their way safely back to the defenses, while Stirling, with a band of Maryland riflemen, covered their retreat. Brother Sullivan's division were nearly all killed or captured. Both generals were taken, but were afterwards exchanged and restored to their places among Washington's trusted friends and leaders. The members of American Union Lodge were engaged in this battle, two being killed and eight taken prisoner, including Brother Joel Clark, the Worshipful Master. More than 20 military lodges were represented in the various British units.

At the close of this action, Washington called a council of war which unanimously advised retreat. Boats were commandeered and placed in charge of New England fishermen. After nightfall, all the troops except those assigned to occupy the trenches and keep the camp fires burning, were marched in turn to the landing, and embarked. The retreat was so favored by Providence that it has been compared to the escape

of the Children of Israel through the Red Sea. A thick fog enveloped the whole of Long Island and, before it lifted, the army of 9,000 men with all its equipment had been ferried across the East River and landed in New York, undiscovered.

At a general council at the Richmond Hill House, New York, on September 12, it was voted to evacuate the city. This decision came not a day too soon. On the fifteenth, the British fleet sailed up the East River and landed above the city at Kip's Bay, near what is now East 34th Street. The militia under Putnam retreated in panic, but the following day they fought bravely and checked the British at Harlem Heights.

Two young New Yorkers, both of whom later became Freemasons, and who afterward met under tragic circumstances, distinguished themselves during the evacuation. Major Aaron Burr, chief of staff to Brother Putnam, guided the Connecticut men, including the remnant of American Union Lodge, to safety. Alexander Hamilton, captain of a local artillery company, covered the retreat, and later planned and defended the works at Harlem Heights. Washington, on the recommendation of Brother Greene, caused Hamilton to be appointed a member of his staff with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, and he served throughout the war as private secretary and confidential aide to the Commander-in-Chief.

The British occupation of New York had important Masonic consequences. A large part of the officers and members of old St. John's Lodge, No. 2, loyal to

the American cause, followed Washington upon his northward retreat, taking the lodge warrant with them. Doubtless, the same was true of other lodges. The records appear to have been lost during this period and, though we may believe that the early New York Masons were as active in the cause of liberty as the Boston and Philadelphia brethren, their names and fame have never been brought to light.

According to the historian of St. John's Lodge, No. 2, however, the Tory members of the lodge appear to have met irregularly with members of the British military lodges. One evening, while such a group was in session, the ceiling of the lodge room gave way and an escaped prisoner of war, Brother Joseph Burnham, who was a patriot member of the lodge, was precipitated into the midst of a number of loyalists and British officers. Brother "Daddy" Hopkins, tiler of the lodge and keeper of the Green Bay Tree Inn, their place of meeting, explained, when called upon, that he had been concealing Brother Burnham in the attic until opportunity should offer to convey him to the Jersey shore. Instead of causing his arrest, the brethren present made up a generous contribution for his relief and offered no obstacle when his escape was afterward effected.

After the loss of New York, Washington retreated through the Jerseys into Pennsylvania, hotly pursued by the British, Major General Charles Lee, in command of the rear guard, being captured by the British at White's Tavern, the meeting place of the Baskinridge (New Jersey) lodge. It was this crisis in American

affairs to which Thomas Paine alluded as "the times that try men's souls".

At this dark hour when all seemed lost, Washington executed the boldest stroke of the Revolution. On Christmas night, in the face of a roaring wintry storm, he crossed the Delaware river, obstructed by masses of floating ice, and landed his army in two divisions, one above and the other below Trenton. About day-break, says Brother Knox, who was in charge of the American artillery, the American forces rushed into Trenton "pell-mell". The Hessians, under Col. Rahl, were sleeping heavily after their Christmas Day celebration and their surprise was complete. Rahl was wounded and was forced to surrender his command to the number of about 1200. On receiving the news, Lord Germaine, the British Colonial Secretary, reported to the King, "Our hopes are blasted by that unhappy affair at Trenton".

The close of 1776 was the darkest period in the history of American Masonry. Every Grand East was shrouded in darkness. Massachusetts and Virginia had each lost a Grand Master. The Grand Lodge of New York had been dissolved, its Grand Master, Sir John Johnson, having become an officer in the British army. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania had been suspended, and its hall had become a prison. St. John's Regimental Lodge was inactive. And American Union Lodge, many of its members having either been killed or taken prisoner, stood closed without day.

As soon as Cornwallis learned of the defeat of the

Hessians, he advanced from Staten Island with a force of about 6,000 men. Washington withdrew to a strong position on the heights near Trenton and the British forces, thrice repulsed at the bridge of the Assunpink Creek, fell back to that city. During the night, which was wet and bitterly cold, Washington, leaving his camp fires burning brightly, skirted Cornwallis' left flank and marched by an old road, late at night, to attack his rear guard at Princeton, twelve miles away. The enemy, about 1200 strong, was met a little after daybreak on the march to join Cornwallis. In the first assault, the horse of Gen. Hugh Mercer was killed and his men routed. Brother Mercer tried to rally the fugitives, but was beaten to the ground and, upon his refusal to surrender, was thrice bayoneted. He died in great agony a few days later. Mercer had been a companion of Washington in the French and Indian War in 1765, and was one of the most popular and promising of the general officers.

The Pennsylvania militia now came charging from the woods, but fell back before the British fire. At this critical moment, Washington, stirred to the depths by the fall of Mercer whom he greatly loved, dashed up on horseback to within thirty yards of the British lines. A volley was fired and some of his officers covered their faces with their hats to avoid seeing their general shot. When they looked again, there was Washington waving to them to come on. This gave heart to the Pennsylvanians who charged and won the day. Washington's reckless exposure, which has been

compared to that of Napoleon at Lodi, snatched victory from the jaws of defeat, and endeared him to his men.

The warrant of Unity Lodge in the 17th British Regiment was captured in this action and is now in the possession of Union Lodge, No. 5, of Middletown, Delaware. Brother William Leslie, son of the Earl of Leven and a captain of the 7th British Regiment, was discovered by Brothers Washington and Benjamin Rush, Surgeon-General of the Army, lying upon the field of battle mortally wounded. He was tenderly cared for and later buried by his American brethren with military and Masonic honors. Frederick the Great, a Freemason and a zealous patron of Freemasonry, who had forbidden the Hessians to cross his territory en route to America, declared this campaign to have been the most brilliant of the century. He afterwards presented to Washington a sword of state.

The victories of Trenton and Princeton revived the hopes of the Americans and, in the spring of 1777, both Massachusetts and Virginia called conventions of lodges to elect Grand Masters. These conventions promptly followed the example of the Colonies by declaring their independence. The Virginia convention offered the Grand Mastership to Brother Washington, but he declined the honor because he had not served as Warden and because the country claimed all his services. Brother John Blair of Williamsburg Lodge was elected Grand Master of Virginia, and Brother Joseph Webb, Grand Master of "Antient" Masons in Massachusetts.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BURGOYNE CAMPAIGN.

NEW YORK, in 1775, was among the smaller provinces, being only seventh in point of population, but was strategically the most important of all. The valley of the Hudson and the Champlain basin afforded then, as now, an easy thoroughfare from New York to Montreal. The valleys of the Mohawk and Hoosick rivers—the celebrated “Mohawk Trail” and the “Old Bay Path”—opened a similar highway from Boston to the Great Lakes at Oswego. These two great water-level routes, the one nearly due north and south, the other approximately east and west, which have been the pathways alike of peaceful commerce and hostile armies from time immemorial, met at Albany, which thus guarded one of the principal cross-roads of the nascent nation. So vital a military objective could not be long neglected. To the north, lay Canada where the British armies could muster for invasion, undisturbed. To the west, were the hostile Indians of the Six Nations under control of Sir John and Colonel Guy Johnson. Only to the east was the province protected and from that quarter, in the time of trial, deliverance came.

The northern department, in 1777, was in charge of General Philip Schuyler (who is believed to have been made a Mason in a military lodge, during the French and Indian War) with headquarters at Albany, then a city of from 5,000 to 6,000 people.

The British plan for the northern campaign that year was to cut off New England from the other Colonies by getting control of the Hudson River. Their objective was Albany. The army and fleet from New York under Lord Howe were to attack up the Hudson, aided by two expeditions; one under Burgoyne, by way of Lake Champlain; the other under Lieut. Col. St. Leger from Oswego, by way of the Mohawk Valley. Had this plan been carried out, the Revolution would doubtless have been a lost cause. The orders of Burgoyne and St. Leger, as drawn up in London, were received and acted upon. Those of General Howe were drafted, but the British Colonial Secretary left his office for a vacation without having signed them and, during his absence, they were pigeonholed and forgotten. Hence Howe failed to cooperate with Burgoyne and, by this Providential circumstance, the life of the young Republic was spared.

No period of the Revolution is of greater Masonic interest than this campaign. The settled portions of the province of New York were then confined chiefly to the valleys of the Hudson, Mohawk and their tributaries, and Masonic lodges had been erected in the principal towns and villages. These included King Solomon's, No. 1 at Poughkeepsie (1771), Union Lodge No. 1 (organized 1759, chartered 1765), and Masters, No. 2 (1768), at Albany, St. George's, No. 1 (1774), Schenectady, and St. Patrick's; No. 8 (1766), at Johnstown. All with the exception of King Solomon's are alive today.

All these lodges were in the line of march of the armies according to the British plan of campaign. All, with one exception, were aflame with zeal for the patriot cause. And all, save St. Patrick's, met with more or less regularity throughout the Revolution. The historian of St. George's Lodge, now No. 6, of Schenectady, has traced the military records of more than one-half of its one hundred and fifty members, and it is believed that a majority of members of all the lodges served in the Continental armies.

The sole exception to the unbroken record of patriotism of the New York lodges was the case of St. Patrick's of Johnstown, the Master of which was Guy Johnson, brother-in-law to Sir John Johnson, then Grand Master of New York. Sir John inherited the immense baronial estate of his father, Sir William, and was among the wealthiest men in the Colonies. Early in the Revolution, to avoid arrest as a Tory, he broke the parole he had given to General Philip Schuyler, escaped to Canada, and organized a regiment of loyalists and rangers, who became the scourge of central New York. He took with him in his flight the warrant and jewels of the lodge which, however, he returned in 1831. Guy Johnson, Master of the lodge, Daniel Claus, for years its Junior Warden, and John Butler, its Secretary, all sided with the Crown and were made colonels in the British army.

By no means, all the members of St. Patrick's, however, followed the fortunes of their fugitive leader. Conspicuous among the patriots who remained was the

celebrated missionary and Indian interpreter, Samuel Kirkland, later the founder of Hamilton College, who was largely influential in keeping two tribes of the Six Nations out of the war. Among others were one general, two majors and five lieutenants, besides many enlisted men, who took part in the patriot cause. The harmony of the lodge, however, was broken and, as we shall see, brother contended with brother in fratricidal strife.

In the Spring of 1777, Burgoyne, with 8,000 picked men, advanced from Canada and, on July 6, forced the evacuation of Ticonderoga. Brother Schuyler, in his retreat to Fort Edward, really defeated Burgoyne by obstructing the wagon roads with fallen trees, and so choking the beds of streams as to flood the surrounding country. As a result, Burgoyne consumed 26 days in marching 25 miles and used up his stock of provisions. To replenish his stores, he detached Colonel Baum with 1,000 Hessians to capture a depot of Colonial supplies in charge of Brig. Gen. Lincoln at Bennington. Baum was attacked on the way by New Hampshire militia under General John Starke, who surrounded his camp, and in about two hours of fighting in the Indian style, forced the British to surrender. Less than seventy escaped. While the militia were plundering the British camp, a relief party of some 500 Hessians was dispersed by the militia under Brother Seth Warner.

The hero of the Battle of Bennington was Major-General John Starke. On sighting the enemy, he exclaimed, "There, my lads, are the Hessians. To-night

our flag floats over yonder hill or Molly Starke lies a widow". Starke was a veteran of the French and Indian War. He had held the rail fence stuffed with straw at Bunker Hill and had fought in the battles around New York and at Trenton. Feeling that his services had been slighted by Congress, he had retired to New Hampshire and was serving at Bennington under the authority of that state. In recognition of his victory, he was commissioned by Congress as Brigadier-General. During the height of his fame, he applied for admission to Master's Lodge, Albany, humbly kneeling at its altar and taking the Masonic vows.

While Burgoyne delayed at Fort Edward, vainly awaiting Howe, Lieut. Col. St. Leger, with a force of about 1,700 British and Indians, landed at the port of Oswego, on Lake Ontario, and advanced by the Onondaga River and Oneida Lake to sweep the Mohawk Valley. St. Leger had first to reduce Fort Stanwix at the head of navigation on the Mohawk, where the city of Rome now stands. This fortress, which had been rechristened Fort Schuyler, was in command of Colonel Peter Gansevoort, Jr., a member of Union Lodge, Albany, now Mount Vernon Lodge, No. 3, with a force of 600 men.

General Nicholas Herkimer, a member of St. Patrick's Lodge, and a veteran over 60 years of age, raised a force of 800 militia and marched to the relief of Fort Stanwix. Herkimer sent scouts to enter the fort and ask Brother Gansevoort to make a sortie, after

having given a signal of three guns, so as to take the enemy between two fires. His officers, however, urged Herkimer to give battle without waiting for Gansevoort's signal, and finally accused him of cowardice. Angered by this insult, the brave old General pressed forward against his better judgment and was ambushed by Sir John Johnson and Joseph Brant, with both of whom he had often sat in lodge, at the head of a large force of loyalists and Indians. A desperate hand-to-hand struggle ensued, the bloodiest battle of the Revolution, in which each side lost a third of its number, no quarter being given.

Herkimer, though severely wounded, refused to leave the field, but gave, instead, a surprising example of the cardinal Masonic virtue of fortitude. Propped up against a tree, he lighted his pipe and continued to inspire and direct his men. The wounded leg was afterward amputated, but unskillfully, so that he died of his wound. His fame is perpetuated in the County of Herkimer, the first to be formed in the State of New York under American rule, in the city of that name, and by the Herkimer monument, a well-known landmark in the Mohawk Valley.

When Herkimer's scouts finally entered Fort Stanwix, Colonel Marinus Willett, a New York Mason, made a sortie and captured and plundered St. Leger's camp. A number of British flags were taken and Brother Willett hoisted upon the ramparts a crude American flag, made after the design then recently adopted by Congress. The red was taken from a

flannel petticoat and the blue from the military coat of Captain Abraham Swartout of King Solomon's Lodge, of Poughkeepsie. Thus it was upon the soil of New York that the Stars and Stripes were first flown in battle, and the occasion was a victory which has been called the turning point of the Revolution and the dawn of that freedom which we now enjoy.

On September 19, Burgoyne, crippled by his losses at Bennington and Oriskany, and not daring to wait longer for Howe, offered battle. The forces upon which fell the brunt of the attack were led by Brothers Arnold and Morgan. Arnold, mounted upon his black horse, was everywhere in the thick of the conflict cheering on his men and would have penetrated and broken the British lines if Gates had not refused reinforcements.

On October 8, Burgoyne again offered battle. Gates on this occasion, from motives of jealousy, assigned no troops whatever to Arnold's command but, utterly unable to endure inaction, Arnold mounted his charger and galloped furiously into the battle. The British Grenadiers were driven back and, had Gates followed up the attack of Arnold, the enemy would have been completely routed. Burgoyne retreated to his camp on the heights, where the Americans under Arnold again attacked him with great fury. At twilight, Arnold was wounded as he was about to enter on horseback the sally-port of a captured redoubt, and was borne from the field.

Gates declined to attack further, but contented him-

self with surrounding the enemy and harassing his scouts and foragers. On October 17, Burgoyne capitulated with his entire force and all his stores and munitions of war. Gates reported the surrender of Burgoyne direct to Congress, ignoring the Commander-in-Chief. To Arnold was largely due the victory, the greatest that the American army had yet won, yet Gates did not even mention Arnold in his dispatches.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES

IN July, 1777, while Burgoyne was struggling in the wilderness near Fort Edward, striving vainly to effect a junction with Howe, at Albany, the latter sailed from New York to attack Philadelphia and landed at Elkton, Maryland, with about 1,600 men. The Middle Colonies, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Maryland, now became the scene of armed conflict and the communications of local lodges were frequently interrupted for more than a year by the tides of war that surged over and around their territory. The minutes of the lodge at Cantwell's Bridge, Delaware, recite that it was thrown into confusion by the sudden landing of the British troops and that its communications had to be dispensed with. The lodges at Christiana Ferry and Dover were also prevented from meeting regularly during this period.

In the Middle Colonies, Freemasonry was chiefly propagated first by the "Modern", and later by the "Antient", Grand Lodges of Pennsylvania, although a few warrants were issued by the Scottish and other grand bodies. Before the Revolution, in addition to those in Philadelphia elsewhere referred to, four lodges were constituted in New Jersey; four in Delaware; four in Pennsylvania; and ten in Maryland; or twenty-two in all. These lodges were located in New Ark, Elizabethtown, Baskinridge, and Princeton, New

Jersey; Cantwell's Bridge, Christiana Ferry (now Wilmington), Middletown (a Scotch Lodge), and Dover, Delaware; Philadelphia County (outside the city), Bucks County, Lancaster, and Newtown, Pennsylvania; and Annapolis, Leonardtown, Joppa, Queenstown, Georgetown, Chestertown, Fel's Point, Baltimore, Chester Mills, and Cambridge, Maryland.

Due to the ravages of war, the growth of the Craft in this section was much retarded but, in addition, there were constituted during the Revolution, two new lodges in New Jersey, at Burlington and Middletown; one in Delaware, to meet in alternate years at New Castle and Christiana Ferry; three in Maryland, in Talbot County (on the Eastern Shore), at Joppa and at Princess Anne; and nine in Pennsylvania, at Norristown, Harrisburg, Sunbury, Reading, Bristol, Carlisle, Easton, London Grove, and in the county of Bucks; or fifteen in all. Thus more than two score lodges, including those in Philadelphia, spread Masonic light in the region most fought over by the contending armies. Incidentally, the new lodge, warranted by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, in August, 1775, at Dover, Delaware, was authorized to meet at the "Sign of General Washington". This is the first known mention of Washington in Masonic records after his raising as a Master Mason.

Washington established his headquarters at Neshamining Creek, near Newtown, the meeting place of a Pennsylvania lodge, about 20 miles north of Philadelphia, and awaited Howe's attack. Here he was

joined by the Marquis de La Fayette, with Baron De Kalb, and a number of other foreign officers of distinction. De La Fayette, although only 20 years of age, was the head of a noble and wealthy French family. He had first learned of the American Revolution at Metz, during the summer of 1775, at a dinner given by the garrison to the Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III. Later he met Lieut. Col. Baron De Kalb, who had visited America in 1768 as a secret agent of France to watch the development of the rebellion, and who wished to return to America, and the two secretly visited Deane, the American representative at Paris. La Fayette was a prominent figure at court and the King sought to dissuade him from leaving France. Fired with enthusiasm, however, at the thought of fighting for liberty, he sailed for America, and his example was followed by more than one hundred gallant French officers in their early twenties.

On September 11, Howe defeated Washington at the Battle of Brandywine, in which many members of local lodges were engaged, and later occupied Philadelphia with four regiments, posting the bulk of his army at Germantown, ten miles away. On October 4, Washington advanced to attack Germantown in four columns. The two central columns, upon which most of the fighting fell, were commanded by Brothers Greene and Sullivan. The attack was made about daybreak in a heavy fog. The enemy was taken by surprise and would have been routed except for an

unfortunate accident. Sullivan's column passed the stone mansion known as the Chew House without noticing that it had been occupied by about 200 British. This was not discovered until the reserves, under Stirling, were fired upon. When Brother Knox, with the artillery, paused to reduce this little fortress, the smoke of battle mixing with the fog resulted in confusion. Stephens, coming up on the left flank, mistook the firing upon the Chew House to be an attack by the British on the American rear, and fired into the American troops, a disastrous blunder which lost the battle.

The net result of the summer campaign for the British was the loss of their Northern army and the conquest of Philadelphia. The capture of Burgoyne led to the French Alliance and Brother Franklin, when reminded by the French Minister of War that Howe had taken the American Capitol, replied laughingly, "Philadelphia has taken Howe".

The rivalry between "Antient" and "Modern" Masonry in the city of Philadelphia appears to have been fatal to the latter, in spite of the brilliance of its early career. The original St. John's Lodge, the Grand Lodge of "Moderna", and its children, "Modern" Lodges Nos. 2 and 3, appear to have become dormant before the Revolution. "Modern" No. 4, having been suspended for working in the "good old way", had applied to the "Antient" Grand Lodge of England for a charter and thus opened the way for the admission of "Antient" Masonry into the Province. By this

change of allegiance, it became the first lodge of "Antients". In 1760, this lodge balloted for a Grand Master, elected William Ball, a kinsman of Washington, and applied to the "Antient" Grand Lodge of England for a Provincial Grand Warrant. This request was granted in July, 1761, but the warrant did not come to hand until some time later, the one first issued having been captured by the French.

The Grand Lodge appropriated the first number on the Pennsylvania register, the first private lodge (originally "Modern" No. 4) now becoming "Antient", No. 2. Three additional lodges were warranted in Philadelphia by the Provincial Grand Lodge prior to 1775, and these "Antient" lodges were the only ones to be active during the Revolution. Lodge No. 2, was intensely patriotic, its roster reading almost like a muster roll of the Revolutionary army. Among its members were sixteen colonels, including Colonel Procter of whom we shall see much hereafter, ten majors, and twenty-eight captains, besides numerous enlisted men, all of whom saw service in the cause of independence. In Nos. 2 and 3, sentiment appears to have been divided, as the loyalist party were very strong in Philadelphia and included some of the most influential member of local lodges.

When, in 1775, the political horizon began to darken, all the lodges suffered from the tension of times, attendance fell off, and meetings became irregular. Thus, the minutes of No. 2 are missing from April 1775 to

the following February. Then, after two meetings, occurs another gap from February to October. During the winter of 1776-7, only a few emergency meetings were held, chiefly to make Masons of candidates about to depart for military service. Meantime party spirit ran so high even in patriotic Lodge No. 2 that, at some time during this interval, Brother Procter was constrained to seize the warrant, evidently to preserve it for the popular party. The meetings of Lodges No. 3 and No. 4 were also much interrupted during these troublous times, a minute of No. 4 (May, 1776) reading as follows: "As no one but the Worshipful Master attended, no business was transacted." In midsummer, however, a Lodge of Emergency was called to work the degrees on two Delaware officers who were about to leave for the front.

When the British entered Philadelphia after Brandywine (September 27, 1777), the lodge room of No. 2, the charter of which had presumably been removed from the city by Colonel Procter, was looted, doubtless at the instigation of disgruntled loyalists; the furniture broken, and the jewels, regalia, and other effects carried off. Nos. 3 and 4, however, were protected during the eight months of military occupation, through the influence of their Tory members, made a number of British and loyalist Masons, and maintained fraternal relationships with British officers and men.

Such was the influence of fraternal feeling, how-

ever, even amidst the passions of war, that a committee of members of Nos. 3 and 4, acting jointly in co-operation with Worshipful Brother Captain William Cunningham, Provost-Marshal under General Howe, secured the missing property of Lodge No. 2 (to the number of twenty items), and deposited it in the custody of Lodge No. 3 to await the fortunes of war and the will of the Grand Lodge. "Antient" Lodge, No. 13, organized in 1769, appears to have succumbed during this period, but was revived in 1779 after the British occupation. A charter granted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland on April 5, 1774, for a St. John's Lodge in Philadelphia, was also in existence, but appears to have been inactive.

During the occupation, Lodge No. 3, then known as Royal Arch Lodge, was the most popular with the British and Loyalists. It retained the custody of the Provincial Grand Lodge charter and sometimes met, irregularly, as a Grand Lodge. In this capacity, it appears to have granted, on petition of the 17th British regiment, a new warrant to replace that lost at Princeton, of which more hereafter.

After the battle of Germantown Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, a place made sadly famous in American history by the suffering of the American forces. Such was the destitution of the army that, in the words of Washington, "They might have been tracked from White Marsh to Valley Forge by the blood of their feet." The men were utterly without proper food, clothing or blankets, and their

only shelter was log huts daubed with clay. Only their spirit of self-sacrifice and their devotion to a great leader and a great cause kept the little army together during the dark days of the winter of 1777-1778.

Pennsylvania Lodge No. 8, every member of which is said to have served in the Army, was located in the vicinity of Valley Forge. According to Masonic tradition, lodge meetings and informal Masonic gatherings were frequently held in the camp, a number of which were attended by Washington. Alexander Hamilton is said to have been made a Mason at this time, and in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief. Many such fraternal gatherings were held during the Revolution by troops on garrison duty, in winter quarters, and in other periods of inaction, from the same motive that prompted similar meetings during the World War.

The Gethsemane of Valley Forge was the crucible from which Washington and his army emerged pure gold, tried as by fire. Faithful to the sacred teachings of Freemasonry, Washington's reliance in this dark hour was upon Divine Providence. His headquarters at Valley Forge were at the house of Isaac Potts, a Quaker ironmaster. One day while walking near the Creek, Potts heard, not far from the dam, a solemn voice. Walking quietly, he found Washington upon his knees in prayer in a thicket, his eyes suffused with tears. Isaac, feeling that he was upon holy ground, withdrew unobserved. He afterward

declared that he could no longer regard it as inconsistent for a Christian to bear arms.

Washington made daily tours of inspection of the camp at Valley Forge to cheer and comfort his men and learn their needs. He was often accompanied by La Fayette, "the most immortally American of all soldier souls", and an affection as tender as that of father and son sprang up between them. As the most famous Frenchman in the American Army, La Fayette was the symbol of the French sympathy and alliance for which the country so eagerly hoped. The French treaty was concluded in February, 1778, largely through his personal influence. In May, it was ratified by Congress amid great popular rejoicing, and was celebrated by a military demonstration at Valley Forge. In June, Brother Anthony Wayne, who had been active prior to the Revolution as a colonel of Pennsylvania militia and member of a Committee of Public Safety, gave a grand entertainment and banquet to members of the Masonic fraternity, in an orchard adjacent to his headquarters. All the general officers including Washington, and many of their ladies, were present.

In spite of the hardships endured at Valley Forge, all the troops that were fit for service were daily drilled in the manual of arms by Baron Steuben, who had seen service under Frederick the Great. Daily he drilled them personally from four o'clock in the morning. He "bully-ragged" them, but he made soldiers of them. Thenceforward, Washington had an army

strong enough to take the aggressive. The subsequent victories of the Continental armies, and consequently the winning of the War, were in no small measure due to the training of Steuben and especially to his insistence upon the use of the bayonet, a hitherto neglected weapon. Steuben was a member of Trinity Lodge, No. 12, New York, and was afterward made an honorary member of Holland Lodge, No. 8. In July, 1778, he succeeded Conway as Inspector-General. At the close of the War, he cast in his lot with the Americans and settled in Northern New York, where he lived and died an American citizen.

On June 18, Clinton evacuated Philadelphia with 12,000 men and so much plunder that his baggage train was 12 miles long. Washington, in pursuit, overtook and attacked the British rear-guard ten days later at Monmouth Court House. General Charles Lee began the engagement at nine o'clock, but shortly retired upon the main army, saying that Americans could not stand before British regulars. Washington was exceedingly mortified and astonished by Lee's retreat. Having ordered Brother Anthony Wayne to hold the British in check, he galloped to the front, warmly demanded the cause of the retreat and censured Lee in stormy language. Lee replied with an air of disrespect, and later demanded a trial by court martial, whereupon Washington placed him under arrest. He was found guilty of disobedience and misbehavior in the face of the enemy and suspended. The battle was a victory for Washington, but the retreat of Lee had

ruined a blow that should have been decisive. It is now known that he was a traitor in the pay of the British.

After the Battle of Monmouth, the British army retreated to New York. Brother Frederick the Great, perhaps the most acute military observer of the times, said, "Clinton has gained no advantage except to reach New York with the wreck of his army. America is probably lost to England."

The British occupation of Philadelphia, as has been stated, threw Masonic affairs into confusion. Of the three active lodges, No. 2, composed of many patriot officers was broken up. Its effects were confiscated but afterward restored. Lodges Nos. 3 and 4 were protected by the British and in them friend and foe met on an equal footing. Certain Masonic regalia being found in possession of descendants of Joseph Brown, British officers gave orders that his widow and family should not be molested. After the British evacuation, many Tories fled from Philadelphia and the two active lodges had to readjust themselves. From this time on many American officers and soldiers were made Masons.

When Congress resumed its sessions in Philadelphia, Washington made public profession of Freemasonry at the celebration of the festival of St. John the Evangelist, by walking in processions with his brethren to Christ Church. Brother William Smith, a prominent member of the former "Modern" Grand Lodge, was especially "healed" as an "Antient" Mason in

order that he might preach the sermon on this occasion. Much poverty and distress had been brought to the patriots in Philadelphia by the British occupation. In accordance with Masonic custom, a call was made upon the Fraternity, on St. John's day, for their relief. More than 400 pounds were collected and the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was made the almoner of Washington's bounty.

During the summer of 1779, Clinton captured Stony Point, a rocky peninsula commanding the Hudson, which the Americans had begun to fortify, and occupied it as a base for an attack on West Point. Washington selected Brother Anthony Wayne to recapture this position. The plan, which called for an attack at midnight, was kept secret until the last moment and Washington caused all the dogs within three miles of the fort to be killed to prevent an alarm. Wayne at the head of his troops stormed the fort at the point of the bayonet without firing a shot. The surprise was complete and the entire garrison was killed or captured. Washington then destroyed the fortifications.

During the British occupation of Philadelphia, it will be recalled, the Grand Lodge of Philadelphia had given the 17th British Regiment a new warrant in place of the one lost at Princeton. This warrant, together with the lodge regalia, was captured at Stony Point, but all were promptly returned by General S. H. Parsons, of American Union Lodge, with a fraternal letter.

The brilliant exploit at Stony Point was a conspicuous tribute to the training of Brother Steuben at

Valley Forge and did much to strengthen the morale of the army. It gave Brother Wayne great renown and the popular title of "Mad Anthony". In his report of this action he wrote to Washington, "Our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free." In 1857, a monument to the memory of Wayne was erected at Stony Point by the Masonic Fraternity.

CHAPTER IX

FAITH AND UNFAITH

THE constant attacks of Indians and loyalists on the border settlements of New York, compelled Washington to detach garrisons for their defense, and kept them from furnishing their quotas of militia and supplies to the army. During the year 1778, some half dozen villages in Western New York and Pennsylvania were destroyed, and the atrocious massacres at Wyoming and Cherry Valley determined Washington to send an expedition to crush the Six Nations.

The opposing leaders, as in the battle of Oriskany, were Freemasons, General John Sullivan in command of the American expedition, being confronted by Brothers Joseph Brant, Sir John Johnson and Col. Walter Butler. Brother Sullivan, whom we have seen at the battles of Long Island, Trenton, Brandywine and Germantown, afterwards became Governor and first Grand Master of the State of New Hampshire. Associated with him was General James Clinton, father of DeWitt Clinton, Governor and Grand Master of Masons in the State of New York. The Pennsylvania artillery was in command of Col. Procter, holding a regimental warrant for Military Lodge, No. 19, under the Grand Lodge of that State.

Joseph Brant, the celebrated Indian Mason, was a Mohawk, who married the daughter of an Oneida chief and became a leading war chief of the Six

Nations. He was a brother-in-law of Sir William Johnson, who gave him a Christian education in New Lebanon, Conn. Brant visited England several times, was presented to Queen Anne, and met Sheridan, Burke and other famous wits of that period. He was made a Mason in London and enjoyed fraternal intercourse with British Freemasons.

The influence of Masonry upon the character of this famous Indian warrior is illustrated by the following incident as narrated by Peter Ross. "At the commencement of the Revolution, Colonel John McKinstry, a member of Hudson Lodge, No. 13, of New York, who had seen service in the French War, joined the American army. He was at the battle of Bunker Hill and at many of the principal Northern battles. At the battle of the Cedars, on the St. Lawrence River, he was captured by the Indians under Brant, and came near losing his life to gratify savage revenge. He was bound to a stake and the fagots piled around him when, remembering that Brant was a Freemason, he communicated to him a Masonic sign which caused his immediate release and subsequent good treatment. From that time Brant and Colonel McKinstry were fast friends through life. Whenever Brant was in the vicinity of the home of Colonel McKinstry, he never failed to visit the friend whose life he had saved. In 1805, Brant, with Colonel McKinstry, visited the Masonic lodge in Hudson, where he was handsomely received".

Sullivan struck the Loyalists and Indians under

Brant, Johnson and Butler in ambush at Newtown, now Elmira. After a six hour battle the Indians fled, leaving their villages deserted. Brothers Sullivan and Clinton then marched across the state to the Genessee Valley, destroying the Indian villages as they went. Forty towns, with their gardens and fruit trees were devastated and over 100,000 bushels of corn destroyed. The power of the Indian confederacy was broken and Brother Sullivan was afterwards called by the Indians the "Town Destroyer". At the close of the Revolution, most of the Indians removed to Canada leaving their lands open for settlement.

During this campaign occurred the martyrdom of Lieut. Boyd, a dramatic incident of great Masonic interest. This splendid young officer, while scouting for Sullivan, was ambushed and captured. He was doubtless aware that Brant, Johnson and Butler were Freemasons and gave the sign of distress. Brant, who had previously saved Major Wood and Col. McKinstry from being burned at the stake, and who let no chance escape to aid a brother Mason, received Boyd fraternally and promised to spare his life. Later, however, during Brant's absence, Butler ordered Boyd placed before him kneeling, with an Indian on each side, one holding his arms, and another with a tomahawk raised over his head. He thrice demanded of Boyd information which fidelity to his commander would not allow him to give. "Boyd", he said, "Life is sweet, you had better answer me." "Duty forbids", was the reply, "I would not if my life depended on

the word." Thrice Boyd refused and the last refusal cost him his life. Butler delivered him to the infuriated Indians who put him to death with excruciating torture, a martyr to his trust. Like the great central figure in the ancient legend of the Craft, this brave young officer yielded his life rather than his integrity. Colonel Procter's lodge, which held frequent Masonic meetings during the expedition, buried with Masonic honors the remains of Boyd, and also gave the bodies of his associates, Captain Davis and Lieut. Jones, both Freemasons, Masonic burial.

In February, 1779, American Union Lodge resumed its weekly meetings at Reading, Conn. On March 25, a public festival was given, to which General Putnam and his aides were invited. The lodge met in emergent communication and entered three apprentices, after which the brethren marched in procession, with music, to the banquet room. The first toast was given to General Washington. This was followed by one to the memories of Montgomery, Warren and Wooster.

Montgomery, it will be remembered, had fallen at Quebec and Warren at Bunker Hill. Brigadier General David Wooster, a veteran of the French and Indian War, fell in an attack on the British troops under General Tryon at Ridgefield, Conn. Brother Wooster had been made a Mason in England, was charter Master of Hiram, No. 1, the first lodge to be warranted in Connecticut, and was exceedingly popular among the patriots of that state. After this time, the names of Washington and these three brave generals,

all of whom had laid down their lives in defense of their trust, became Masonic toasts and were first in order at all Masonic festivals.

The event of greatest Masonic significance during the Revolution was the festival of St. John the Evangelist's Day, in December, 1779, under the auspices of American Union Lodge, at Morristown, then headquarters for Washington's army. Over one hundred members and visitors were present, including Generals Washington and Gist, and Colonels Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Procter. General Benedict Arnold, who was in town at the time on trial before a court-martial, was conspicuous by his absence. The brethren, after attending divine services and listening to a very "polite discourse", marched in public procession with music, to the old Arnold Tavern, where dinner was served. After dinner the celebrated petition of the army lodges for a General Grand Master for the United States of America was read. This petition was approved by Washington, signed on behalf of the army lodges and other Masons in the service, and presented to the several Provincial Grand Masters. It was concurred in by the Grand Lodges of Pennsylvania and Virginia, but was regarded by Massachusetts, as premature, and was abandoned.

In May, 1779, American Union Lodge was transferred to Nelson's Point on the Hudson and met frequently in the Robinson House, later celebrated as the headquarters of Benedict Arnold. Here General Parsons, commander of the Connecticut line, and Col.

Rufus Putnam, nephew of Israel Putnam, after known as the "Father of the Northwest", were made Masons. In June, the lodge celebrated the festival of St. John the Baptist at West Point. A company of about 125 members and visitors then marched in procession to the Red House Tavern, where a lodge was opened in ample form. The company afterward retired to a "bower" in front of the hostelry where addresses were delivered. Dinner, music, toasts and song closed the entertainment, the expense of which was reported as nearly four hundred pounds. The Commander-in-Chief was the guest of honor on this occasion.

The St. John's Day festivals at Morristown and at West Point seem greatly to have stimulated interest in Freemasonry in the army. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania about this time warranted a military lodge in the Pennsylvania artillery, two in the Pennsylvania line, two in the New Jersey, and one each in the North Carolina and Maryland lines, and the "Antient" Grand Lodge of Massachusetts warranted a lodge in the Massachusetts line named in honor of the Commander-in-Chief. This lodge was constituted at West Point with well-known officers in the chairs, and Washington was a frequent attendant. In all, ten military lodges were warranted in the Continental army; one by New York, two by Massachusetts, and seven by Pennsylvania.

In September, 1780, in sad contrast to the heroic fidelity of Lieutenant Boyd and the noble example of Generals Montgomery, Warren, Mercer, Wooster

and many another Freemason, occurred the treason of Benedict Arnold. Arnold was a native of Connecticut, and was admitted into Hiram Lodge, No. 1, New Haven, on April 18, 1765, having been recommended by the Master himself. The records of his own and other lodges show him as present on numerous occasions.

We have seen Brother Arnold side by side with Brother Ethan Allen at the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, leading his volunteer company to Cambridge, struggling through the wilderness of Maine, falling at the head of his men at the storming of Quebec, fighting with desperate gallantry at Saratoga, honored and trusted by Washington and regarded as perhaps the greatest fighting general of the Continental Army. At Saratoga, Arnold spared the life of the man who shot him, crying out to the men who were about to avenge him, "Don't kill that man! He is a brave fellow!" Had these been his last words, his name would have been enshrined among the world's immortals.

Unhappily, in 1777, five brigadier-generals, all junior to Arnold, were promoted over him. In April of that year, Arnold defeated a detachment of British under Tryon at Ridgefield, Connecticut, whereupon Congress made him a Major-General; but he was not raised to his proper rank until after the victory at Saratoga.

Arnold was placed in command of Philadelphia after the evacuation of the British, the leg wounded at

Quebec, having been too badly shattered at Saratoga to permit of active service. His marriage here to Margaret, daughter of Edward Shippen, a prominent Tory, who appears to have been a member of Modern Lodge, No. 1, of Philadelphia, led to an association with Tories which made him exceedingly unpopular. Charges connected with his administration of this post, led to a court-martial at Morristown in December, 1779, during the progress of which occurred the St. John's Day-festival and convention. The court exonerated him of moral turpitude, but found him guilty on two lesser charges and sentenced him to be reprimanded. The reproof of Washington was really an encomium, but to Arnold, already angered and embittered by what he deemed the unjust treatment of Congress, this verdict was the last straw.

In August, 1780, he received at his own request, the command of the Highlands of the Hudson, with headquarters at the Beverly Robinson House. Here he entered into communication with Sir Henry Clinton to surrender West Point, then the most important military station in the United States.

The details of Arnold's treason are too well known to require repetition. A personal interview with Arnold being necessary, Clinton chose as his messenger Major André, who had known Mrs. Arnold at Philadelphia and had kept up with her an innocent correspondence which first opened to Arnold a means of communicating with the enemy. Arnold received André under a flag of truce, and furnished

him with plans and a description of the American works, and a pass to return through the lines. André was captured in neutral territory, proclaimed himself a British officer, and was arrested with the treasonable correspondence on his person.

Arnold received the news of the capture of André barely in time to admit of his escape to a British warship in the Hudson. With this sole exception, the confidence of Washington was never betrayed by one of his Masonic generals and his trust in Arnold had been absolute. When complete plans for the fortifications around West Point, which Arnold had prepared with his own hand and entrusted to André, were delivered to Washington, he turned to Brothers Knox and La Fayette, who were alone with him and exclaimed significantly, as if in despair, "*Whom can we trust now!*"

Many incidents show how completely Arnold's treachery was repudiated by his brethren. The following minute, for example, was passed by King Solomon's Lodge, No. 1, Poughkeepsie, where he had been an occasional visitor: "*Ordered that the name of Benedict Arnold be considered obliterated from the records of this lodge—a traitor.*" Accordingly, wherever the name of Arnold occurs as a visitor, it has been either cross-hatched in ink or cut out, apparently with a pen-knife. And Brother Steuben, finding a youth named Arnold in the ranks, ordered him to change his name, and gave him that of Steuben instead!

Arnold faced bravely the first two ruffians of his career, at Quebec and at Saratoga! but, upon the third demand, gave up his integrity, betrayed his brethren and his country, and furnished the Craft and the world a mournful example of the consequences of a broken faith. In the hour of death, Arnold asked for the old American uniform in which he had fought his battles, with the epaulets and sword-knots given him by Washington. Almost his last words were, "God forgive me for ever having put on another."

CHAPTER X

THE WAR IN THE SOUTH

AT the outbreak of the Revolution in 1775, Colonel Moultrie seized the British fort on Sullivan's Island in Charleston Harbor. The royal governor, Lord Campbell, and the British troops fled to their vessels and a provincial council was organized which placed the Colony in a posture of defense. Brigadier-General Gadsden was placed in charge of the Charleston troops and strengthened the fort with batteries and a parapet of palmetto logs until he believed it to be impregnable.

Major General Charles Lee arrived in June, 1776, to take charge and insisted that the fort be abandoned as, in his opinion, it would be only a slaughter pen. Happily, his advice was disregarded. In May, Sir Henry Clinton appeared in the harbor with a large British fleet under Admiral Parker, a British Mason. On June 28, the British attacked the fort, with eleven ships carrying two hundred and seventy guns, but their fire was harmless on account of the palmetto logs. Some of their ships were disabled. Others ran aground upon a shoal. A land attack was also a failure. The British fleet and army were beaten off and Clinton, after lingering for three weeks, returned on August 1 to Staten Island. The gallant defense of Charleston saved the southern Colonies from invasion and during the first two years of the War they remained undisturbed.

The available records of Freemasonry in the Colonies of Georgia and the Carolinas are so scanty that the subject can be touched upon only in the most summary fashion. We know, however, that provincial Grand Masters had been appointed in each of the three provinces and that more than a score of lodges had been constituted. From these facts it is a fair inference that there were upward of one thousand Freemasons in this section before the close of the Revolution.

The earliest record of Freemasonry in Georgia is a minute of the premier Grand Lodge of England, in 1733, where we read that "the charity of the Society was solicited * * * to enable the trustees of the new colony to send distressed brethren to Georgia where they may be amply provided for". Evidently this petition was complied with, since there were in the province within two years enough Masons to form the first lodge. Warrants were issued by the Grand Lodge of England for three lodges at Savannah: Solomon's, No. 1 (1735), Unity (1774), and Grenadiers (1775), prior to the Revolution.

R. W. Robert Lacey, a merchant and steward of the Grand Lodge of England, was appointed the first Provincial Grand Master. This was in 1735. He was succeeded (1756-61) by R. W. Grey Elliott. And, he in turn (1774), by R. W. Noble Jones. The records of the Grand Lodge of Georgia were wholly destroyed by fire in 1820 so that comparatively little is known about the history of the early lodges. Two

of them appear to have perished during the War, as we learn from a petition to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, in 1784, that "there is no regular Lodge of Antient Masons in the State, and only one of Moderns".

Just how and when Freemasonry was introduced into South Carolina is a matter of dispute. A member of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, employed in Franklin's office in Philadelphia was sent by him to Charleston, in the fall of 1731, to open a printing office, and "may have introduced Freemasonry" into that province. Some time later a second brother was sent to take his place and to the latter in August, 1734, Franklin forwarded a number of copies of his reprint of Anderson's Constitutions. St. John's Grand Lodge at Boston granted, in 1735, a warrant for the first lodge in South Carolina, Solomon's by name, at Charleston. A minute recites that "about this time sundry brethren going to South Carolina met with some Masons in Charleston who thereupon went to work from which sprang Masonry in these parts". Two other lodges were constituted by the premier Grand Lodge of England, Prince George, at Winyaw (1743), and St. Mark's (1763); and one by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, Union by name (1760), at Charleston.

R. W. John Hammerton was appointed Provincial Grand Master by the Earl of Loudoun, in 1736; and he, or his successor, issued additional warrants prior to 1775: two, Union (1755) and Master's (1756), at Charleston, and one at Beaufort (1756). Thus a

Grand Lodge and seven subordinate lodges, six English and one Scotch, were at work in the province before the Revolution.

A number of these appear to have survived the vicissitudes of war since a letter from Marine Lodge, No. 38, of which Colonel Thomas Procter was then a member, written in 1783 to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, states that there were then three active lodges in Charleston all "Modern", viz., Solomon's, No. 1, Union, No. 2, and Master's, No. 5; and that an "Antient" lodge had been set up under a warrant granted by Scotland for St. Augustine, West Florida, in the name of St. Andrew's, No. 1, the Master of which had disclosed to members of Union No. 2, "the secrets of the Chair".

In North Carolina, Freemasonry was introduced from several sources, warrants having been issued by the Grand Lodge of England for lodges at Wilmington (1755) and Halifax (1766): by Scotland, at Fayetteville: by Virginia, at Warrenton (1766); and by Joseph Montfort, commissioned in 1771 by the Grand Lodge of England as Provincial Grand Master of North America, for lodges at Newbern (1772), Kinston (1777), Edinton (1775), Windsor and Winton (1775). Thus, no less than eleven lodges had been at work in North Carolina, of which ten were of English or provincial and one of Scotch origin, before the close of the Revolution. Unhappily, the bitter partisan strife of Whig and Tory caused the destruction of many of the old records. Partial minutes have come

down to us, however, which prove that the lodges were as a whole intensely patriotic since so many members were absent on military service during the Revolution that meetings were often impossible.

Grand Master Montfort and his deputy Cornelius Hartnett, and Colonel Robert Howe, were among the leading patriots in North Carolina, the last two having been excluded by Sir Henry Clinton from his general offer of amnesty. The presidents of the three Provincial Congresses and of the Provincial Council, which exercised the authority of the State in the intervals between the Congresses, and many of the leading officers of the militia and of the North Carolina Continental line were Masons.

The plan of the British Ministry to disrupt the Union by separating New England from the other Colonies along the line of the Hudson, came to an end with the capture of Burgoyne. A similar scheme was then devised to cut off Georgia and the Carolinas. In December, 1778, the British conquered Savannah and overran the Province of Georgia. The local militia were everywhere mobilized. The partisan strife of Whig and Tory became intensely bitter and lodge communications were generally interrupted. Washington dispatched General Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, to take charge of the defense of Charleston. Lincoln, reinforced by the French fleet under D'Estaing, attempted to recapture Savannah but failed. Clinton then laid siege to Charleston and on May 12, compelled Lincoln to surrender with about 6,000

men, including seven generals, 400 cannon and much ammunition and stores. This was the greatest disaster of the war, and a severe blow to the Commander-in-Chief. From Charleston the British, with the aid of Tory spies and loyalist Rangers, rapidly overran the Carolinas and deprived Washington of reinforcements and supplies from that quarter. General Lincoln, having been paroled and exchanged, rejoined the army in the spring of 1781 and was made a Mason in Massachusetts Lodge, Boston, the same year.

After the surrender of Burgoyne, the friends of Gates persuaded Congress, contrary to Washington's judgment, to give him command in the South. His army consisted of detachments from the Continental line under Brother De Kalb, and the North Carolina militia, under Brother Richard Caswell, afterwards Governor and Grand Master of that State. Many of his officers and men were Freemasons. The Maryland troops were led by Brother Mordecai Gist, then Worshipful Master of a Maryland military lodge and afterwards Grand Master of Masons in South Carolina, who had presided at the Morristown convention. On August 16, Gates' army of 3,000 men were utterly and shamefully routed by Cornwallis at Camden. Gates literally ran away, deserting his army, and it was said that his "Northern laurels had changed to Southern willows". On receipt of the news of Camden, Horace Walpole said, "We look upon America as at our feet".

Brother Gist distinguished himself in this action by dashing from point to point amid a storm of fire

to rally his troops. Brother De Kalb, who commanded the reserves, fell at the head of his men, with sixteen wounds and died, a prisoner, a few days later. The commander of the British forces was Francis Rawdon, Earl of Moira, a Mason. He caused the wounded De Kalb to be brought to his tent, did everything possible for him while living, and gave him a military and Masonic funeral. Brother La Fayette, on his return to America in 1825, laid the corner stone of the monument to the memory of De Kalb which still stands at Camden.

After the defeat of Gates at Camden, Washington placed Brother Nathaniel Greene in charge of the Southern army, and gave him a number of his best officers. Greene's staff consisted of von Steuben as drill master; Kosciusko, engineer; Colonel Otho Williams, Adjutant-General; Generals Harry Lee and William Washington, commanding the dragoons; and Morgan, the rangers and riflemen; all brother Masons. Washington and Greene were the only generals at the siege of Boston who fought to the end of the Revolution, and Cornwallis said of Greene, that he was as dangerous as Washington.

The turning point of the war in the South was the battle of King's Mountain, which occurred on October 7, 1780, just before the arrival of Brother Greene. Lord Rawdon, in his report of this affair, said that an army of about 1,000 backwoodsmen had unexpectedly come over the mountain from Nolichucky and other places that he had never even heard of!

This army surrounded a force of over 1,000 British regulars and loyalists under Ferguson, Cornwallis' ablest lieutenant, on King's Mountain, near the boundary of North and South Carolina, killed about one third of their number and took the remainder prisoners. The victory greatly inspired the Southern militia, and was a severe blow to Cornwallis. Among the leaders in this affair were Colonel MacDowell, Hambright and Sevier, and Captain Lenoir, members of southern lodges.

During 1781, Greene gradually cleared the Carolinas. On September 8, he fought the last battle of the Southern campaign at Eutaw Springs, S. C., where Brother Sumter distinguished himself and Brother William Washington was made prisoner. A junior officer in Brother Washington's company was Lieutenant Monroe, a Mason, who became fifth President of the United States.

Early in this action, the British were driven back in confusion. The American militia, supposing that the battle had been won, scattered to plunder the British camp, as they had done at Bennington and elsewhere, when the enemy returned to the attack and compelled them to retreat. The British, however, retired next day to Charleston, leaving behind their wounded and stores. From that time the enemy were shut up in Charleston, Savannah and Wilmington, not a handful of British troops being left outside these cities. The troops under Greene, during the preceding year had marched 2,600 miles.

The French alliance having placed at Washington's disposal a fleet under Admiral Tille de Grasse, a French Freemason, and the army of Rochambeau, he conceived the bold design of leaving the British army at New York and capturing the army of Cornwallis at Yorktown. He crossed the Hudson on August 19 and, about two weeks later, took over the command of La Fayette's army in Virginia, having marched over four hundred miles. At the close of August the fleet of Brother de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake and the British army was surrounded. Brother Greene, in command of the Southern army, wrote to Brother Knox: "We have been beating the bush and the General has come to catch the bird. May success and laurels attend him."

While Brother Greene was holding Cornwallis in check in the South, the traitor, Arnold, led a series of raids along the shores of the Chesapeake in Virginia and Brother La Fayette, aided by Brother Steuben, was dispatched to organize and lead the Virginia militia against him. Up to this time, the Old Dominion had suffered but little from the ravages of war, but now her Minute-Men were called upon to defend their homes and firesides. The Virginia lodges, of which eleven were in existence before the Revolution, were all devoted to the patriot cause. Only the first lodge, that constituted at the Royal Exchange Tavern, Norfolk, in 1743, was a daughter of the premier Grand Lodge of England, a majority being of Scottish origin. These lodges were located at Norfolk, in Caroline

County, at Petersburg, Winchester, Fredericksburg, Hampton, Williamsburg, Gloucester Court House, Prince George Court House, Yorktown and Falmouth. Two more were added during the War, at Richmond and Alexandria. Thus thirteen lodges in all were active in the Old Dominion before the Revolution drew to a close.

The most famous of these are Fredericksburg, the mother lodge of Washington, where he was made a Mason in 1752, and Alexandria of which he was first an honorary member, and later, on occasion of an application for a new charter, Warrant Master. Fredericksburg Lodge also gave to the patriot cause General Hugh Mercer, a companion of Washington in the Braddock Expedition and his lifelong friend, who fell at Princeton, and many other gallant officers and men. Peyton Randolph, as well as Edmund, his nephew and adopted son, were members of the lodge at Williamsburg. Many other prominent Virginians, conspicuous among whom were Daniel Morgan, the famous leader of Morgan's riflemen, are numbered in the proud ranks of Virginia Freemasons.

The British defenses at Yorktown were rapidly battered down by the artillery of Brother Knox and a breach was effected in a brilliant night attack on two redoubts by the combined armies of Washington and Rochambeau. The American forces were led by Brother Alexander Hamilton; the French by Brother La Fayette. The artillery was in charge of Brother Knox as was the case in every battle during the Revo-

lution in which Washington participated. Washington and Rochambeau issued jointly the final orders for the assault. In the language of Henry Cabot Lodge, "The drum beat faintly heard at Concord was sounding very loudly now upon the plains of Yorktown."

On October 19, Cornwallis surrendered his army of about 7,500 men with all its arms and stores. Chagrined and mortified by his defeat, he deputed the ceremony of surrender to General O'Hara. Washington assigned Brother Lincoln, who had been forced to surrender at Charleston under circumstances designed to humiliate him, to receive Cornwallis' sword from O'Hara. This he did, but immediately returned it. Cornwallis, ablest of British generals, afterwards complimented Washington on his generalship, adding, "After all, your Excellency's achievements in New Jersey were so great that nothing could surpass them."

Napoleon, with all his power and ability, could not conquer Spain. George III could not conquer America. On hearing the news of Yorktown, Lord North exclaimed, "Oh God, it is all over." In the language of C. T. Brady: "The United States of America was conceived at Lexington, quickened at Bunker Hill and born at Philadelphia. It was baptized in blood and snow at Trenton; it spoke stern words from the cannon's mouth at Saratoga. It struggled desperately for life amid the snow at Valley Forge. It finally assumed the *toga virilis* of independence at Yorktown." On all these occasions, the will to victory was the will of Washington and his Masonic generals.

As soon as the articles of surrender had been signed at Yorktown, Washington dispatched an aide to carry the news to Congress. The courier reached Philadelphia at midnight and, riding up to the house of Thomas McKean, President of Congress, made such a racket that a night watchman threatened to arrest him for disturbing the peace. After hearing the news, the watchman, a Pennsylvania German, continued his rounds and, as he called the hour, spread joy through the city by adding, "Und Gornvallis is daken."

A few days later a second messenger from Washington arrived at Philadelphia, bringing full returns of the great victory, together with twenty-four regimental standards captured at Yorktown. These were paraded through the principal streets in a long procession, preceded by the American and French colors. They were finally laid at the feet of the President of Congress and the French ambassador. The Fabian policy of the Commander-in-Chief had at length been vindicated and his popular triumph was complete.

CHAPTER XI

CLOSING DAYS OF THE REVOLUTION

THE surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown brought the military campaigns of the Revolution to a close; but the British occupied New York two years longer, pending the peace negotiations. During this period, Washington's headquarters were at Newburgh and the military lodges, as was the case during the World War, were of great value in keeping up the morale of the troops. To afford a place both for the meetings of the military lodges and for religious services, an assembly room or hall was built and dedicated as the "Temple of Virtue". This famous building was a rude structure forming an oblong square 40 by 60 feet. It was one story in height and had but a single entrance, which was flanked by two pillars. This building was the scene of Washington's famous Newburgh address, a conspicuous instance of his personal and Masonic influence.

A rumor that Congress intended to disband the army without pay had gained credence and provoked a spirit of mutiny. A meeting of officers was called at the "Temple of Virtue" by an anonymous circular, to consider refusal to lay down their arms. The authority of Congress and the integrity of the army were threatened. Washington attended the meeting and addressed the officers present, the most influential of whom were his brother Masons, advising prudence and modera-

tion. He then withdrew and Brother Knox moved a series of resolutions thanking the Commander-in-Chief for his wise and patriotic course and expressing the steadfast loyalty of the army. Washington, by his counsel on this occasion, in the opinion of historians, quelled an incipient rebellion which might have had the gravest consequences.

The failure of the movement to make Washington General Grand Master of the United States probably caused his brother officers to organize the society of the Cincinnati to perpetuate their friendship and keep them in touch during the formative days of the Republic. The plans of this association were drafted by Brother Knox and were based upon the social principles of Freemasonry. Its leading members were Freemasons, and it is thought that some of the higher bodies of the Ancient York Rite drew from it, a few years later, certain of their principles of government. The Order of Cincinnati, was instituted at the Verplanck House, May 13, 1783. Washington became its first president and continued to hold that office and thus maintain close contact with his generals until his death.

In October, 1783, the Treaty of Peace arrived and, in November, a joint committee of British and American officers met to arrange for the evacuation of New York. On November 25, the British evacuated the city and Brother Knox, at the head of the army, took military possession. The British flag was hauled down from the flag staff at the Battery, and the Stars

and Stripes run up before the British transports had left the harbor.

The leave-taking of Washington from his officers at the famous tavern kept by Brother Samuel Fraunces, which had been a headquarters for the "Sons of Liberty", was a scene of historic impressiveness. The little group of his brothers in arms, most of whom were also his brethren of the Mystic Tie, assembled on this occasion, had been the center of union, not only of the army, but of the nation. They had sat together in councils of war, supported one another upon the field of battle, and many had shared with him the labors and festivals of Freemasonry. Filling his glass with wine, Washington raised it and said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; and most devoutly do I wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." He tasted the wine and, with voice trembling with emotion, said, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave; but shall be obliged to you if each of you will come and take me by the hand."

Washington then turned to Knox who stood nearest him, grasped his hand and kissed him with sincere affection. He then took leave in the same manner of each succeeding officer. When all was done the great Commander, accompanied by his comrades, walked to Whitehall Ferry, entered his barge and commenced his journey to Congress, then sitting at Annapolis.

The closing scene of the Revolution took place in

the old State House at Annapolis in December, 1783, when Washington, like Cincinnatus of old, resigned his commission as Commander-in-Chief into the hands of Congress, saying, "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theater of action and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission and take my leave of the employments of public life." He thereupon retired to Mount Vernon and resumed the privacy of domestic life.